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INSIDE TODAY

THE JERUSALEM POST

Monday, January 10, 1983

Vol. LI. No. 15731 IS20.00

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Police mobilize in anti-terrorist drive

By MICHAL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — All police units including Border Police, Civil Guard, operations police, detectives and policemen from all the sub-districts yesterday launched a special campaign to prevent a recurrence of such terrorist operations as the grenade attack on the Egged bus here Saturday.

Meanwhile, an Arab-language newspaper in London said that the Palestinian dissident "Abu Nidal" had taken responsibility for the attack.

The details of the police campaign were worked out with the Tel Aviv district's senior officers at an emergency meeting at district police commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman's bureau.

Turgeman also appointed a special investigations team to continue the interrogation of the 19 Arabs still held by police as suspects in the attack which injured 12 persons, three of whom remain hospitalized. The investigation is being carried out with the cooperation of the security forces, it was learned.

Police sources said yesterday that the police are examining the possibility that more than the two men who were observed throwing the hand grenades at the bus participated in the attack. The two had apparently emerged from an abandoned house on Rehov Bar Yochai and attacked bus number 201 on its way from the central bus station to Rishon Lezion. Police believe a car with other terrorists in it may have been waiting nearby and helped the attackers make a getaway.

The 19 Arabs held by police work or live in the vicinity of the attack, or were found in the area, it was learned.

Turgeman called on the public to be alert to any strange action or suspicious objects.

Israel Amrani adds: The terrorist attack in Tel Aviv was not an isolated incident. During the past year, and especially since September, dozens of terrorist incidents have occurred in which bombs exploded, or were defused on time, mostly in metropolitan areas within the Green Line.

In one incident, which was played down, a car loaded with 280 kilos of dynamite, was defused hours before it was to explode at noon near the dining room of Kibbutz Hatzerim in the Negev. Investigation revealed that the car was stolen in Israel, smuggled across the border to Egypt, loaded with explosives and smuggled back.

In another incident two months ago in Herzliya, four persons were wounded, one seriously, when a bomb exploded under a public bench in the centre of town. A ter-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

IDF soldier wounded

METULLA. — A soldier was slightly injured yesterday when the jeep in which he was riding passed over a remotely-controlled bomb which exploded on the road south of the Rashidiye refugee camp in southern Lebanon. Security forces mounted a search of the area.



Attending the mass Agudat Yisrael rally at Binyenei Ha'uma last night were (from right): Rabbi Yitzhak Flaxer, president of the religious court in Jerusalem, Rabbi Avraham Shapira, MK Avraham Shapira and MK Shmuel Halpert (Zoom 77)

Levy, Zipori want new debate on Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Two Herut ministers who are regular critics of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's dominant influence on shaping policy towards Lebanon said at yesterday's weekly cabinet session that a major re-assessment of such policy was urgently required.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin satisfied Deputy Premier David Levy and Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori by promising that the cabinet would hold a special debate for this purpose.

No date has been set for the Lebanon debate in the cabinet and it may not be held for many weeks.

Levy said the policies laid down towards Lebanon before the Peace for Galilee operation, or after the ceasefire, were not appropriate to today's situation. The stability of the Jemayel regime and the depth of Soviet and Syrian involvement must be reassessed on the basis of up-to-date information, Levy said.

Zipori said a debate was needed to weigh the proper role of the IDF in Lebanon, in the light of continuing casualties.

Zipori also quoted cabinet minutes to show that the claim of the Chief of Staff, Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, that no cabinet decision was ever taken to halt the troops at the 40 kilometre line, was unfounded. Begin commented that Eitan had got involved in "a misunderstanding" but added that since the Chief of Staff was not present, Zipori should not develop his point further.

Begin said the cabinet security committee would discuss the recent spate of terrorist incidents in Lebanon, of which there were 13 last week alone.

Job for UNIFIL may facilitate Lebanon accord

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel may be prepared to consider an expanded role for UNIFIL as a contribution to an overall settlement in Lebanon. In particular, Israel may respond favourably to the idea of UNIFIL forces undertaking to police and protect Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon following the withdrawal of PLO, Syrian and Israeli troops from the country.

The idea is likely to come up at a meeting today between Prime Minister Menachem Begin and the U.N. under-secretary-general, Brian Urquhart.

Israel will plainly be more amenable to a UNIFIL presence in the north of Lebanon than in the south, in the envisaged security zone stretching 40 kilometres, from the border and encompassing the refugee camps near Sidon and Tyre. In fact, top-level policymakers, at a meeting in Jerusalem yesterday afternoon, felt that Israel's aim should be to remove UNIFIL from the 40 km. zone altogether. "They will have no task or purpose in the security zone," an official said later.

But other officials were more circumspect, and several highly placed sources indicated there could be flexibility in Israel's attitude to UNIFIL's future role (it being understood that satisfactory security arrangements are concluded for the 40 km.-zone.)

The Lebanese government is pressing for a six-month renewal of the UNIFIL mandate, due to lapse next week. Beirut, it is reliably understood, wants to maintain the presence in the country of this neutral and friendly force for as long as possible while the Lebanese government goes about the slow task of rebuilding and training its own sovereign army.

But the contributing nations are not prepared for a six-month renewal in view of the fluid and uncertain situation in Lebanon. The likelihood is a two-month renewal, to which Israel, too, is expected to give its consent. (The mandate was extended for two periods of two months during the summer, then for a three-month period in October.)

The idea of UNIFIL expanding its area of activity to encompass the whole of Lebanon, with special focus on the refugee camps, was first mooted in consultations in Beirut 10 days ago involving the Lebanese government, the U.S. and others. There have been parallel discussions at the UN in New York, with Lebanon seeking the support of the permanent members of the Security Council and the UNIFIL contributing states.

U.S. envoy Morris Draper raised the idea with Israeli officials during his visit to Jerusalem last weekend, and apparently received mixed and hesitant responses. There is resentment in some government circles here, especially military circles, over what is seen as a lax implemen-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

'Al-Ahram' to PLO: don't resume terror

CAIRO (Reuter). — A leading Egyptian newspaper urged the Palestine Liberation Organization yesterday to eschew any return to terrorist operations against Israel.

The mass circulation *Al-Ahram* said in an editorial: "It is no longer acceptable that haphazard (PLO) military operations should take place while it was now hoped that the organization's military preparations should be subjected to a comprehensive political strategy."

PLO leader Yasser Arafat, in recent interviews and statements, has sought to dispel suggestions that the PLO has given up military activities following its pullout from Beirut last August.

On Friday, he pledged at a PLO rally in Damascus to continue armed struggle until an independent Palestinian state was established.

Al-Ahram said: "The PLO has to be cautious as it reviews its stand so as not to be tempted by prospects of military action in the absence of strong political regulations."

Aridor to table budget for 1983 in Knesset today

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor will today table before the Knesset the budget for the fiscal year 1983, which starts next April. The minister will also present the "national budget" for next year, a document jointly prepared by the Treasury and the Bank of Israel containing their economic forecasts for the year.

Aridor's proposed budget for 1983 totals some IS535 billion, at 1982 prices, compared with IS49b. for the 1982 budget.

Most of the increase in the budget will be due to the rise in the payment of interest and the repayment of the internal debt. These two items together will lead to an increase of some IS50b. over their 1982 level, mostly due to the maturity of bonds and two-year savings plans introduced by the Treasury in 1981.

On the revenue side, the budget assumes that income from taxes will increase by some 10 per cent in real terms over its planned level for 1982. Most of this increase will reflect the continued effects of the taxes and levies introduced by the Treasury last June to finance the war in Lebanon. The ministry has stressed that it does not intend to impose new taxes during the year.

The Treasury-Bank of Israel forecast for the next year is based on the assumption of a gradual recovery in the economics of Europe and the U.S., which will enable the level of exports to rise by 5 per cent, with a corresponding 2 per cent increase in the country's Gross National Product — the total output of the goods and services produced by the economy.

Despite the increase in the country's exports, the national budget forecasts that the country's excess of imports over exports will continue to grow. Imports will total some $5.3 billion, as compared with $4.9b. last year.

The chairman of the Alignment's economic committee, MK Gad Ya'acobi, declared yesterday that the new budget guarantees further economic declinel The sums which the budget allots to settlements on the West BBank should be transferred to the Galilee, the Negev, Jerusalem, the Golan and the Jordan Valley he said.

Ya'acobi added that the policy of slowdown in the rate of devaluations should be replaced with a policy of encouragement of production and exports by increasing these rates.

Hussein sees Arafat

AMMAN (Reuter). — King Hussein of Jordan yesterday briefed PLO leader Yasser Arafat on talks he had with President Ronald Reagan in Washington last month on the Arab-Israeli conflict, the official Jordanian news agency, Petra, said.

It gave no details but said the meeting was attended by members of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian committee set up last October to coordinate Jordanian and PLO moves on Middle East peace.

Asked whether the PLO would give Hussein the go-ahead to commit himself to negotiations with Israel, a PLO official said: "It all depends on whether King Hussein has any American guarantees or not."

Argentina fumes over Thatcher visit

BUENOS AIRES (Reuter). — Argentina's official news agency yesterday denounced British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's surprise visit to the Falklands Islands as an act of aggression and mockery.

Thatcher arrived on an unannounced visit to the disputed South Atlantic islands on Saturday, saying she wanted to pay homage to the troops who recaptured them from Argentina in June.

The official Telam news agency said Thatcher's presence on what it called Argentinian territory would provoke violence and repudiation. "It constitutes yet another flagrant violation of Argentina's sovereign rights," the agency said.

Argentina occupied the islands last April in pursuit of a long standing claim to sovereignty. A British task force recaptured them after 10 weeks of fighting in which about 1,000 soldiers on both sides were killed.

(See story page 4.)

Security police to oversee new try at truce in Tripoli

BEIRUT (AP). — Lebanese security police will try to oversee a new attempt at a cease-fire agreed yesterday between warring Moslem militias in Tripoli, and Lebanon's security chief announced that pro- and anti-Syrian groups fighting there had agreed to pull their gunmen off the streets.

The announcement by Hisham Shaar, head of Lebanon's internal security police, followed his meeting earlier in the day with Brigadier General Ali Aslan, Syria's deputy chief of staff.

State and privately owned radios reported sporadic shooting could still be heard in the two slum neighbourhoods at the focus of the battle. But they said the intensity of the fighting lessened markedly after Shaar's announcement.

"In my personal opinion, and in the opinion of the man in charge of the security forces only the army can disarm Tripoli," Shaar said in an interview with the English-language magazine *Monday Morning*. "But let's be frank, there are Syrian forces in Tripoli, and if the army enters Tripoli, there will be two armies."

He added: "The political dimension is that the Syrians must approve the entry of the Lebanese army into Tripoli to disarm all the parties on the ground."

Mubarak: Arabs have a year to make peace

CAIRO (AP). — President Hosni Mubarak warned yesterday that the Arabs have six months to a year to reach a settlement with Israel based on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's peace formula.

In an interview with the Associated Press, Mubarak urged Jordan's King Hussein and Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat to "negotiate and come to conclusions" before the U.S. presidential campaign starts.

Mubarak accused Syrian President Hafez Assad of trying to sabotage peace efforts to promote his image as defender of the Palestinian cause.

"The Israelis are building at a very quick tempo so many settlements in the West Bank and Gaza," Mubarak said. "If we are going to lose another year with just delivering statements without any activity so as to put the Reagan initiative into action, it will be a big loss and the problem will be more difficult to solve."

Mubarak said that when the campaign for the 1984 presidential election starts, "It will be difficult for Reagan to implement his initiative."

"So I am urging those who are looking for a comprehensive settlement, those who want peace in this area, to make the best use of this specific period so as to negotiate and to come to conclusions in six months or one year."

The Reagan plan calls for a freeze on Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza and establishment of Palestinian home-rule on those territories in association with Jordan.

Israel has rejected the plan, Egypt supports the plan with some reservations and other Arab states have objected to the lack of a clear call for a Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

Hussein and Arafat met yesterday in the Jordanian capital of Amman to discuss a formula for joint Jordanian representation on possible peace talks with the Israelis.

Mubarak said "I am asking King Hussein with the cooperation of Arafat to finish the negotiations...so as to start the negotiations for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem."

In an unusual verbal attack on another Arab state, Mubarak charged that Syria was interested in forestalling any settlement.

"Syria doesn't want any solution. Syria is benefiting from the situation. She has now two cards. The Palestinian card and the Iranian card. Frankly, she is playing with the two cards. She is taking money from here and there by using these two cards."

Divine name found on 7th cent. BCE amulet

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The earliest mention of God's name ever found in Jerusalem has been discovered on an unusual silver amulet scroll uncovered in a treasure trove excavated on a hill opposite Mount Zion.

The scroll, from the seventh century BCE, was discovered three years ago by archeologist Gabriel Barkay of Tel Aviv University, but was only unravelled last month in the laboratory of the Israel Museum by use of a special technique.

"It's the first time in 150 years of archeological excavations in Jerusalem that the Hebrew form for the name of God has been found," Barkay told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The excavations alongside St. Andrew's church above the Hinnom Valley were described as "sensational" yesterday by leading archeologists hearing about it for the first time. They also produced the largest amount of jewelry ever found in a Jerusalem dig and the oldest coin ever found in the country — a sixth century BCE coin in the shape of a crab from the Aegean isle of Kos.

Although rumours of striking finds near St. Andrew's have circulated in archeological circles in recent years, Barkay maintained a low profile for fear of drawing the attention of ultra-Orthodox circles who might suspect violation of ancient Jewish graves. He made his first public revelation of his discoveries yesterday in a lecture at the Rockefeller Museum sponsored by the Albright Institute and Hebrew Union College.

The young archeologist said he had found two small silver amulets in an underground "repository" — a tomb chamber in which gifts to the dead were placed along with their bones. Both amulets contain prayers in Hebrew. The texts were scratched with a sharp instrument onto the metal — analyzed as 99.9 per cent pure silver, according to Barkay — and were difficult to read. Aside from revealing that one of them contained the Hebrew form for God's name — Yud-heh-vav-heh, ltransliterated as Jehovah in the Christian world] — the archeologist declined to discuss the scrolls further, saying he was presently working on their decipherment.

The perishable quality of papyrus and other materials used for writing accounts for the absence of any archeological finds hitherto of God's name. Barkay noted that although stone inscriptions have been found, they predictably do not contain God's name because they are not in the nature of religious texts.

Although rolled-up metal scrolls are known from the Hellenistic period in Israel several centuries later, said Barkay, none from the First Temple period of the St. Andrews material have ever been found.

One of the ancient tombs uncovered on the site contained the first repository ever found intact in Jerusalem. Among the hundreds of objects it contained were 100 pieces of silver jewelry and other artefacts of great beauty. At least one of the caves in the area was used by the Turks to store munitions and weapons. The archeologists found a large armoury of old rifles, including an American Winchester of the kind Barkay believes was used for buffalo hunting.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

9.1.1983

	MIN. C	MIN. F	MAX. C	MAX. F	
AMSTERDAM	4	39	8	46	Drizzle
BRUSSELS	1	34	4	39	Rain
BUENOS AIRES	21	69	31	88	Cloudy
CHICAGO	-4	25	2	36	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	2	36	5	41	Rain
FRANKFURT	-2	28	6	43	Cloudy
GENEVA	-4	25	5	41	Cloudy
HELSINKI	-1	30	9	48	Clear
HONG KONG	11	52	13	55	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	20	68	28	82	Clear
LISBON	4	39	13	55	Clear
LONDON	6	43	11	52	Cloudy
MADRID	-1	30	11	52	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-2	28	2	34	Clear
NEW YORK	3	38	8	46	Cloudy
OSLO	-5	23	1	34	Clear
PARIS	2	36	8	46	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	21	70	36	97	Sunny
SAO PAULO	20	68	29	84	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	2	36	10	50	Cloudy
TOKYO	6	43	11	52	Cloudy
TORONTO	1	34	4	39	Cloudy
VIENNA	7	45	13	56	Cloudy
ZURICH	-1	30	9	48	Clear

* For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Max
Jerusalem	60	0—9	10
Golan	65	1—9	9
Nahariya	61	3—14	15
Safad	75	0—7	8
Haifa Port	69	—14	15
Tiberias	57	5—13	15
Nazareth	56	3—13	14
Afula	57	1—15	16
Shomron	58	2—11	12
Tel Aviv	64	6—15	16
B-G Airport	57	4—15	16
Jericho	—	4—7	18
Gaza	62	8—17	18
Beersheba	65	4—13	14
Eilat	37	9—18	19

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The annual bazaar of Akim will be held at the Hilton Hotel, Tel Aviv, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. today, and tomorrow.

Meir Goren will speak at the weekly meeting of Rotary West Jerusalem at 7 o'clock tonight at the King David Hotel on "Explanation and Clarification to the army on the Lebanon War."

Professor Egon Riss, head of the Department of Cardiology at the Rambam Medical Centre, Haifa, has been elected president of the Israel Heart Society.

The monthly meeting of the Rabbinical Council of America, Israel region, will be held today at 10 Rehov Strauss, Jerusalem.

Birth

To Ronit and Zvika Kerzner, a daughter on Friday, January 7, 1983, granddaughter to Sylvia and Leo Krown, and Zipporah Kerzner.

17 IDF soldiers in 'good' condition

TEL HASHOMER (Itim). — The conditions of all 17 soldiers taken to Sheba Hospital after the bus they were travelling in was attacked in southern Lebanon on Friday were described yesterday as 'good'.

Twenty-one soldiers were in the bus when it was attacked and 17 were brought to the hospital by helicopter. They suffered light shrapnel wounds.

Most of the 17 are expected to be discharged in the next few days.

TA cage derby won by Maccabi

Post Basketball Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hapoel came within a single basket of breaking a five-year jinx as they gave Maccabi a mighty scare in the Tel Aviv basketball derby last night.

Although Hapoel had their noses in front on a few occasions in the second half, Maccabi eventually squeaked out 92-90 winners before an enthusiastic crowd of 2,000 at the Ushishkin Hall.

John Ramsey was in fine shape for Hapoel with 30 points, while Earl Williams (28) and Aulcie Perry (22) saved Macabbi from a nasty blow on the eve of their departure for Brussels for their two crucial European Cup games against CSKA Moscow on Wednesday and Thursday nights.

Al-Masri: PLO may recognize Israel

CAIRO (AP). — The Palestine Liberation Organization is "weighing" a recognition of Israel, Hikmat al-Masri, a West Bank notable, said here yesterday.

Al-Masri, a former speaker of the Jordanian parliament, had just finished meeting Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. He called on Arabs to act in concert before Israel's schemes to "Judaize" the West Bank and Gaza go beyond the point of no return.

Welcome to Israel
Mrs. Harriet Banks Galler
(Golda Meir look alike)
and **Mrs. Miriam Breyan**
Hadassah leaders of the Boston, Mass. area
From the Captain Yehiel and Ruth Glovsky Langer Hospitality Foundation, 1 Mapu St., Jerusalem.

Histadrut body backs building on West Bank

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut central committee yesterday gave the labour federation's companies the green light to continue construction and other development work in Judea and Samaria. The committee rejected an appeal by a number of parties against an earlier decision to the same effect by the management board of Hevrat Ovdim, the Histadrut holding company.

Final word on the matter now rests with the Histadrut council which is due to convene at the end of the month.

The issue has already aroused such heated controversy within the Labour party that MK Yossi Sarid has warned that he would terminate his membership in the Histadrut if the council ratified the earlier decisions. The matter is also due to be debated by the Labour Party political bureau on Thursday and by the party central committee next week.

The Histadrut central committee stipulates that the Histadrut companies in question are not to initiate any settlement projects in densely populated Arab areas, but its acting secretary-general Moshe Olenik stressed that should all Histadrut work in Judea and Samaria be banned, Solel Boneh, Yuval Gad and other concerns would have to lay off hundreds, if not thousands of workers.

The battle is far from over and promises to be one of the most hotly contested in the Labour party. Sarid announced yesterday that "this is not just another operative political compromise with which we must put up as part of our political existence. This is an ideological surrender on part of the labour movement and we are not obliged to accept ideological surrender. Once this decision is ratified by the Histadrut council, it would mean that the white Histadrut flag would be hoisted over all construction sites in the West Bank. The Histadrut is a voluntary organization and if its council agrees to go along with the government's annexationist policies, I for one will stop paying my membership dues."

Gunshots damage Nablus kindergarten

NABLUS (Itim). — The director of an Arab kindergarten here filed a complaint with police yesterday alleging that Jewish settlers fired shots from a passing ambulance at the kindergarten and at a local bus parked beside it.

No one was hurt at the Dar al-Tafel kindergarten, but both the building and the bus were damaged. Police are investigating.

There have recently been reports of local Arab youths stoning Jewish settlers' vehicles and an Israeli ambulance was stoned near the scene of the incident on Saturday. As a result, security forces imposed a brief curfew on the area.

In Hebron yesterday, five electric utility poles put up by the municipality in a disputed area bordering with the Jewish suburb of Kiryat Arba were pulled down for the second time in a week. The municipality blames Kiryat Arba residents for both incidents, while the suburb's council has denied responsibility.

In a related incident, Hebron resident Zayad al-Ja'abari complained yesterday to police that Kiryat Arba residents destroyed a house he had just built in an area fenced off and claimed by the suburb. Hebron Mayor Mustafa Natshe claimed yesterday the disputed area does not belong to Kiryat Arba and that Ja'abari had a legal building permit.

Near Bethlehem yesterday, unknown persons in the Dahaishe refugee camp threw two Molotov cocktails at the local police post. No one was injured and no damage was caused. Security forces closed off and searched the area, but no arrests were made.

Heth wants change in Securities Law

Post Economic Reporter

It is necessary to up-date the Securities Law and the law controlling the operation of trusts funds because these laws do not respond to present needs, the chairman of the board of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, Meir Heth, said yesterday.

Speaking to Galei Zahal, Heth said that there must be a change in the present situation in which anyone can open a firm which manages securities portfolios without control.

Heth resigned last week from his post as chairman because of his disapproval of the management of trust funds and the liberal policy of approving new issues of shares.

He told *The Post* that since last week nothing has happened to make him change his mind. But he said he would change his mind about resigning if the right steps are taken.

The Knesset Economic and State Control Committees are expected to discuss next week Heth's accusations of impromper management of the trust funds and new share issues.



Esmat Sadat, younger brother of late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, appeared yesterday in the Court of Ethics in Cairo. Sadat, accused of corruption, told the judges that he only claims his liquid assets amounting to $2 million and is ready to relinquish the rest of his wealth to the state. (UPI telephoto)

JOB FOR UNIFIL

(Continued from Page One)

tation by some UNIFIL units in the past of the anti-terrorist aspects of its mandate.

Ultimately it will be Begin himself who will decide whether to take up the idea of an expanded UNIFIL as a contributory element in an eventual settlement in Lebanon. If the premier's decision is positive — as Lebanon itself and some UN members plainly hope — Begin will have to exert his authority to change what has become a virtually built-in antipathy towards UNIFIL in some government circles.

Begin is known to have a high personal regard for Urquhart with whom he will discuss the whole issue this afternoon.

Lebanon envisages the expanded UNIFIL as operating alongside the multi-national force which is encamped in certain suburbs of Beirut. President Amin Jemayel has apparently given up hope of persuading the U.S. and other states to increase the size of the MNF.

The Lebanese are pressing for a role for UNIFIL in the belief that this would expedite the departure of the remaining PLO fighting units from their country. The PLO leaders claim that they cannot, especially after Sabra and Shatilla, leave the refugee camps unguarded and thus at the mercy of the well-armed Christian Phalange forces. This argument is applied both to the camps in the north, which are now under the PLO's own protection, and to the camps around Sidon and Tyre, which are currently protected by the Israel defence forces.

Some diplomats believe that a role for UNIFIL, agreed to by the parties and built into a settlement accord, would also serve to encourage the Syrians to cooperate in such an accord: For one thing, a UN role would imply, obliquely, some Soviet involvement in the solution (the USSR is a permanent member of the Security Council which would have to approve an expansion of UNIFIL's mandate).

Meanwhile the Israel-Lebanon negotiations resume at Halde this morning, with prospects of a "breakthrough" on the still-stalled matter of the agenda. Israeli officials said yesterday that a draft agenda proposed last Thursday by Draper, was acceptable to Israel — with certain amendments which the Israeli team would seek at the meeting today.

This position was adopted at a session of the ministerial "steering conmittee," comprising Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, together with the negotiating team yesterday afternoon.

The cabinet earlier deliberately refrained from formally endorsing the Draper draft, preferring that Lebanon announce its acceptance first. The draft is in effect an amalgam of Israeli and Lebanese proposals. It proposes that the various issues be negotiated "concurrently" — presumably by means of sub-committees.



Two metres of snow in the mountains of eastern Lebanon have reduced most Israel Defence Forces activity to the routines of guard duty and keeping warm — which these IDF soldiers are trying to combine. Yesterday troops of the IDF's newly formed Alpine unit rescued a column of supply vehicles stuck in the snow on its way to Jebel Baruch. Plowing of the main road to Jebel Baruch is expected to be completed today, piling the roadside snow to a height of six metres.
(Yossi Elmakim, IPPA)

Yosef and Goren disagree

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef pulled the rug out from under Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren yesterday when he announced the names of the rabbinate's two nominees to the elections committee despite Goren's reservations.

Circles close to Goren said last week that the Chief Rabbinate Council had selected its two nominees but would not notify Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg who they were, until they knew whether the two incumbents would be able to stand once again, or carry on serving by getting an extension.

Yosef told Burg the two nominees were Micha Yinon, an NRP veteran, and Rabbi Nissim Azran of Rishon Lezion. Yinon is Goren's man; Azran is Nissim's.

Yosef, who is in a commanding position just now *vis-a-vis* Goren because he is currently serving as chairman of the council, did not want to see Burg appoint all five members of the elections committee, as Burg is legally entitled to do, if the rabbinate does not appoint its two men.

Although both Yosef and Goren are extremely eager to remain as chief rabbis, and both demand that the law be amended to make this possible, Yosef wants the amendment to specify that he can stand in the coming election, while Goren wants the law amended so as to extend his term without an election.

Yosef knows he could win a walkover victory in a fresh election if he were allowed to run again. Goren knows he could lose, as he would have lost had elections been held three years ago, against Rabbi Shaul Israeli.

The cabinet will approve the names of the other three nominees to the Chief Rabbinate elections committee next Sunday. Meanwhile the NRP which is divided on the question will this week discuss the various proposals to amend the current law.

Agudat Yisrael reportedly told NRP leaders last Thursday that if Goren is allowed to stand again, they will organize a candidate to block his chances.

Memory of North African Zionists recalled

High government and public officials, including Prime Minister Menachem Begin, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy and Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, yesterday took part in a memorial ceremony at Jerusalem's Heichal Shlomo Synagogue for the Zionist activists who perished in North Africa.

The ceremony was held on the 22nd anniversary of the sinking of the immigrant ship Agez, in the Straits of Gibraltar. Forty-three Jews on their way to Israel perished.

"Let us never forget that we are one people without any difference in origin," Begin said. "We are all Jews and must act out of love of Israel. We must be united in the face of our enemies."

Meanwhile, in Dimona, relatives of those lost in the Agoz asked that the remains of their relatives be recovered and brought to Israel for burial. MK Yitzhak Rabin said at a ceremony marking the disaster that Israel must learn the lesson of the past and be a nation where groups of different origin live in peace and equality. (Itim)

Beduin shot by bullet when he lights fire

Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — A young Beduin who lit a fire to keep warm was "shot" in the leg when a bullet which had been lying on the ground exploded in the blaze.

Uad Abu-Gardoud, 21, of the Azazma Beduin tribe, was treated at Soroka Hospital yesterday for the leg wound.

Fahd's Lebanon peace bid may include Arafat visit

RIYADH (AP). — Saudi Arabian King Fahd was to meet yesterday with a Lebanese Druse leader in a bid to contain current inter-Arab fighting in Lebanon.

Fahd also met with Moroccan Foreign Minister Mohammed Boucetta to discuss current Arab-Israeli peacemaking efforts, amid reports in the Saudi press that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat was expected to visit Riyadh after his current talks in Jordan.

The Saudi King met earlier with Mahmoud Abbas ("Abu Mazen"), member of the executive committee of Arafat's leading Fatah terrorist group. Abbas flew in to brief Fahd on the outcome of a Fatah policy parley held in Kuwait two days ago to discuss, among other things, mounting tensions between Syrian and PLO forces in eastern and northern Lebanon.

Walid Jumblatt, leader of Lebanon's Druse involved in current fighting near Beirut with Christian militias, arrived yesterday afternoon and was expected to confer later with the king.

The report on Arafat's expected visit to Saudi Arabia said he would be arriving from Amman to discuss with Fahd the outcome of his dialogue with Hussein on outstanding U.S. proposals for Arab-Israeli peace.

Soloveitchik stands up for Navon

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BOSTON. — Though sickly and nearly 80, the dean of modern Orthodox Jewry in America, Rabbi Joseph Dov Soloveitchik yesterday received President Yitzhak Navon by standing up and recalling that when they last met in 1960, on a visit by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to the U.S., Navon had been sitting at the corner of the table. (Navon was Ben-Gurion's political secretary.)

A 20-minute courtesy call was stretched into a 40-minute discussion, each using the courteous third-person form of address about Zionism, Jewish education and the Holocaust. While not mentioning that the revered rabbi has not visited Israel for almost 45 years, the president asked about the attitude of religious American Jews to Israel and immigration.

Soloveitchik expressed his warm support for Israel and said no one on the ultra-Orthodox fringe in the U.S. still holds by the theological position that nothing should be done to help the State of Israel. Although Jewish education is in severe crisis, said the rabbi, that the minority of young Jews are observant and active is impressive and growing.

Earlier in the day Navon addressed a rally of 3,000 Jews at the Conservative Mishkan Tefila congregation, calling for immigration from the American Jewish community, suggesting that they should become participants and not mere spectators.

Seven leopards, 3 tamers join Brooke Shields

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — El Al's first passengers in a long time arrived on Friday at Ben-Gurion Airport — seven tame leopards on cargo Flight 852 from Los Angeles via New York.

The leopards will appear in the movie *Sahara* starring Brooke Shields being produced in Israel by Menahem Golan. They were accompanied by three tamers.

El Al's cargo flights, which operated throughout the stoppage in the airline's operations, brought to Israel about 100 tons of equipment for producing *Sahara*, including 11 vintage racing cars built especially for the film.

POLICE

(Continued from Page One)

rorist had placed the bomb in a basket under a bench, and it went off when an 82-year-old man touched it.

Seven months ago, police sappers prevented a major disaster in downtown Jerusalem when they defused a large bomb minutes before it was to explode at Friday's rush hour. The bomb was loaded with 4.5 kilos of highly-efficient plastic TNT.

Despite their newsworthiness, these and other incidents never made the front pages. One reason for playing them down is the difficulty in getting details beyond the obvious from the police and the IDF. Security forces observe a policy of holding back as much information as possible from the terrorists.

Former Liberal MK named ambassador

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet yesterday approved the appointment of Zvi Zimmerman, veteran Liberal Party member, as ambassador to New Zealand.

Zimmerman, a lawyer and a deputy mayor of Haifa, was an MK for many years before switching to municipal politics.

The government's agreement with the Foreign Ministry provides for 15 political appointees on the ministry staff at one time, and Zimmerman is the 16th, so he will have to wait until one of the political appointees now abroad gets back home before he takes up his post.

The previous ambassador to New Zealand, Ya'acov Morris, returned home in December.

Jailed for refusing to serve in Lebanon

A first lieutenant in a military police reserve unit, Ze'ev Savish, was sentenced yesterday to 21 days in military prison for refusing to serve in Lebanon. He was to have started a 35-day stint in the El-Ansar detention centre in Southern Lebanon.

Mass Aguda rally lashes Law of Return

Jerusalem Post Reporter

About 10,000 non-Jews have immigrated to Israel from an eastern European country in the past 10 years and been registered as Jews, a rabbi declared last night at a rally of Agudat Yisrael supporters in Jerusalem demanding a change in the Law of Return.

The speaker, Rabbi Yitzhak David Grossman of Migdal Haemek, did not name the country, but rally organizers said he was speaking about Rumania and that he had documents to prove his accusation.

An overflow crowd attended the rally at Binyenei Ha'uma, which caused a deep division in Agudat Yisrael. The organizers were largely hassidic elements within the party — particularly the Gerer Rebbe and leaders of the Habad movement — who demand that the government implement its promise to change the law so that only religious conversions according to halacha would be recognized as legitimate.

Non-hassidic elements within the party, particularly MKs Shlomo Lorincz and Menahem Porush, are opposed to risking a coalition crisis. Lorincz and Porush boycotted the rally on orders of Rabbi Shach, a member of the Council of Sages. The Aguda did not officially sponsor the rally for fear of a split by the non-Hassidic elements.

Pamphlets were handed out at the rally calling for the resignation of Lorincz and Porush to permit their replacement by representatives of the Gerer hassidim and the Sephardic bloc within Aguda, as decided upon by the Council of Sages three years ago.

The assembly adopted a decision calling on the government to immediately amend the Law of Return.

Coffee price drop

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Industry and Trade Ministry does not expect that the drop in the price of coffee announced last week represents the beginning of a general decrease of food prices a spokesman for the ministry told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The 8.3 per cent reduction in the price of coffee, which will bring the price of 200 gm. of locally produced instant coffee from IS109 to IS100, and that of 50 gm. from IS28.75 to IS26.35, results from a drop in the price of coffee beans in international markets.

Kibbutz Ein Dor
joins with
Martin, Zipporah, Miriam, Shaul and their families
in mourning the death of

HAIM HYMAN SELIGMAN

The funeral will take place at the Kibbutz today, Monday, January 10 at 3 p.m.

Kibbutz Ein Dor

Dr. JAMES C. CHURCHER

who served the people of Haifa as an evangelical missionary doctor, 1924-1977 is now with Jesus.

He passed away on December 27, 1982.

A public thanksgiving and memorial service will be held on Wednesday, January 12, 1982 at 5 p.m. at St. Luke's Church, 4 St. Luke Street, Haifa.

In profound sorrow and grief we announce the sudden death of our beloved wife, mother, grandmother, sister, cousin and sister-in-law

TRUDE (Chawa) KOLLENSCHER

née Mannaberg

The funeral will leave today, Monday, January 10, 1983 at 2.30 p.m. from the Municipal Funeral Parlour, 5 Rehov Dafna, Tel Aviv, for the Holon cemetery.

Bus transport will be available.

The Bereaved:

Husband — **Arnold Kollenscher**
Son and daughter-in-law — **Amos and Bina**
Grandchildren — **Doron, Alon and Orna**
Sisters — **Lisbeth Ascher**, Tel Aviv
Herta Mannaberg, Haifa
Judith Seevi, Ashdot Yaacov

Families and friends

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of our very dearest, our mother and grandmother

FRIEDA MONHEIT ז"ל

née Reifner

The funeral took place yesterday, Sunday, 24 Tevet 5743 (9.1.83) at the Kiryat Gat cemetery.

Tuvya and Betty
Grandchildren and great-grandchildren
Monheit family, New York
Shoshana Ben-Ezra and family, Beersheba

NII survey reveals increase in number of poor families

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

For the fourth straight year since 1977, the number of families under the poverty line has grown and the gap between rich and poor has widened, despite child allowances and other welfare payments made by the National Insurance Institute.

The NII survey of 1981, released yesterday, states that since the late 1960s through 1977, NII payments managed to reduce the number of families in what is defined as poverty and narrow the overall income gap among salaried workers. But during 1978-1981, the report concludes, "there has been a significant regression" in the impact of NII payments on poverty and inequality.

The poverty line for NII purposes is, defined as 40 per cent of the median income.

In 1977, slightly under 3 per cent of all families remained beneath the poverty line after receiving NII payments, while in 1981 the percentage had grown to 6 per cent. In absolute terms, 14,100 families (64,300 persons) were left in poverty in 1977, compared with 33,900 families (153,200 persons) in 1981.

A worsening in the situation occurred in 1981 despite the introduction of quarterly adjustments in NII benefits to compensate for inflation.

The widening of the income gap was especially apparent among large families and one-parent families, which in any case are more in need of social assistance than others.

The report states categorically that the increase in poverty among all types of families, and especially large ones, is due mainly to the erosion of the value of the child allowances since 1977 by 40 per cent.

Hebrew University Professor of Social Work Eliezer Jaffe, said that the lowest income groups have not only been hit by the erosion of the child allowances, but also by the increases in VAT, which is a regressive tax, and by delayed compensation for price increases. He said that most families below the poverty line are forced to cut back on food, eating more filling but less nutritious items such as jam and bread.

In a related matter, the proposed large families benefits bill is still bogged down in negotiations between officials of the Ministry of Social Affairs, which sponsored it, and the Treasury. The ministry spokesman said after a meeting yesterday between the parties that they are locked in dispute on practically every point of the bill. The officials are to meet again next week.



The mountain goat is one of many subjects covered in the new illustrated *Encyclopedia of the Fauna and Flora in Eretz Yisrael*, published by the Nature Protection Society in cooperation with the publishing branch of the Defence Ministry. The first of 12 projected volumes was released yesterday. The project is headed by veteran ecologist Azaria Alon, who is assisted by 13 editors, 150 writers and 100 photographers. The publishers hope to have the encyclopedia completed in two years. The above photograph was taken by Gail Rubin, who was murdered in the coastal road massacre in 1978.

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Poll gives Likud 59 Knesset seats

TEL AVIV. — If elections to the Knesset had been held during the third week of last month, the Likud would have won 59 seats, the Alignment 40, the National Religious Party five, Agudat Yisrael five, Shinui three, and other parties eight.

These are the findings of a poll commissioned by *Monotin*, and due to be published in the magazine's forthcoming issue. The poll was conducted by Nina Zemach.

The showings of the various parties are said to have remained constant since the beginning of Operation Peace for Galilee, except for a short period following the massacre in Beirut in September.

On the other hand, Zemach pointed out that there is still a great deal of electoral "flexibility," as about 40 per cent of those questioned said they haven't decided for whom to vote.

Jerusalem youth held in rape of tourist

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem police early yesterday morning arrested a 17-year-old youth who had allegedly raped an English tourist in the capital on Saturday afternoon. The suspect confessed to the crime, police said.

The 34-year-old tourist said she was attacked in a cave at the Herod Family Tombs near the King David Hotel. She said that the youth offered to guide her in the Old City.

After treatment in the hospital, the victim gave police a description of her attacker. She went with a policewoman and a detective and identified the youth in the Old City.

PARKING. — The price of an hour's parking in Haifa by use of parking tickets has been raised from IS3 to IS5.

Ehrlich surgery successful

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin reported to the cabinet yesterday about Deputy Premier Simha Ehrlich's open heart operation in the U.S. which he said had been successful.

The cabinet wished a speedy recovery to Ehrlich, in a hospital somewhere in the Middle West, where his presence is being kept secret.

Last week the cabinet was told that Ehrlich was going to the Caribbean in his capacity as agriculture minister.

Trade and Industry Minister Gideon Patt will hold the agriculture portfolio during the few weeks that Ehrlich is expected to be away. Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i replaces Ehrlich on the special committee of ministers, which is directing the negotiations with Lebanon.

Amikam Shapiro, deputy director-general of the Agriculture Ministry told *The Jerusalem Post* that he had contacted the hospital after the surgery and had been told the surgery had been successful. He said he did not know how long Ehrlich would be gone.

Murdered driver buried in Jewish cemetery

Jerusalem Post Reporter

REHOVOT. — Adi Mizrahi, the civilian truck driver murdered in Lebanon last week, was buried here on Friday at the local Jewish cemetery despite the objections of his family. Mizrahi, 32, was a convert to Judaism from Islam.

Mizrahi's father, Yussef Udah, tried to have his son buried as a Moslem at the Moslem cemetery in Ramle, but permission was denied first by Rehovot Magistrates Court and then by Tel Aviv District Court. Udah, in consequence is refusing to participate in the traditional Moslem mourning ritual.

The funeral was attended by many of Rehovot's residents, and Mizrahi was eulogized by Mayor Yehezkel Harmelech, who attempted to cool the tempers of the family and of many other Arabs from the area.

Voice teachers to hear talk on unionism

Prominent New York singing teacher Antonia Lavanne will address a meeting of singing teachers at the Jerusalem Music Centre tomorrow.

Lavanne has been for the past two years president of the New York chapter of the national association of singing teachers in the U.S. and the subject of tomorrow's talk will be how a professional organization can benefit members and the craft in general.

Lavanne was born in Hungary and came to this country in 1941 where she established herself as a singer, mainly of contemporary music, and as a teacher. She went to the U.S. in 1960.

Lavanne is here at the invitation of the Jerusalem Opera Society, which with the cooperation of the Jerusalem Music Centre, is sponsoring the meeting. All singing teachers are invited. *(Y.B.)*

Electric Corp. workers stage warning protest

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Over 7,000 Electric Corporation employees yesterday staged protest meetings against management delays in concluding a labour contract and pay rise agreement, although the meetings were held during their breakfast break so as not to disrupt work.

The workers want the same 12 per cent rise granted recently to the Histadrut. A works committee source said they will hold off further action until Wednesday, pending the outcome of talks between the corporation's management and the Energy and Finance Ministries.

World campaign starts for daily Bible reading

Jerusalem Post Staff

The World Jewish Bible Society has asked Israel Radio and various public institutions to adopt and to publicize its triennial calendar of daily Bible readings.

In an attempt to revive a worldwide Bible reading campaign begun some 50 years ago by the late Dr. Yehuda Even-Shmuel, the society has published a calendar listing the daily weekday readings of a chapter from the Prophets or the Hagiographa. The calendar may be obtained free from the society at POB 7024, Jerusalem.

GOAL — Yair Gilboa, director-general of Akim — the association for the rehabilitation of the mentally retarded — announced yesterday that in the group's one-day fund-raising campaign last month, the goal of IS11 million in contributions was reached.

New effort to settle West Bank

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The government plans a campaign to attract settlers to the administered territories, to be organized by the Centre for Encouraging Settlement in Development Towns.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, which runs the centre, yesterday confirmed that this is the first time that the centre would be used to stimulate interest in the territories.

The first stage of the news media campaign will try to attract buyers for the 2,200 flats to be completed by September, mainly in the towns of Ariel, Emmanuel and Kiryat Arba. The centre will deal only with settlements built by the government and not with those put up by private entrepreneurs.

The second stage of the campaign will focus on re-organizing groups to settle in areas now being planned. There will be no special inducements beyond those already offered by the Housing Ministry. The campaign will not deal with employment.

Electric Corp. fined IS100,000 for pollution

RAMLA (Itim). — The Israel Electric Corporation yesterday was fined IS100,000 in the Ramla magistrate's court, after it was proved that its power station at Ashdod polluted the atmosphere 161 times from January 1980 to October 1981. The complainant was the Health Ministry.

Defence Ministry renews Umm el-Fahm land dispute

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — A new dispute has erupted between the local council of the Arab village of Umn el-Fahm in the Little Triangle and the Defence Ministry over the ownership of 15,000 dunams of land.

The local council claims the land has belonged to village residents for generations. In the 1950s the authorities tried to expropriate the land but the High Court of Justice ruled in 1957 that the farmers could cultivate under a permit issued by the government.

The farmers recently were notified they would have to give up the cultivated land and were barred from entering their fields. The Defence Ministry allegedly informed the villagers that the land is a military zone and the army needs it for training.

The farmers were warned that the authorities would not be responsible for any damage resulting from military activities.

The local council has complained that the army recently began fencing off the disputed land and denying the farmers access. Insurance companies have reportedly refused to insure the farmers against any damages resulting from their use of the land. In the past, several local residents have been hit by stray bullets.

Rakah, (New Communist Party), whose members run the local council, has started a campaign against what it calls the Defence Ministry's plan "to steal more plots of land from the Arab population". Rakah members note that Umm el-Fahm, which is considered the largest Arab village inside the Green Line, lost 120,000 dunams during the War of Independence.

Scholar urges nuclear deterrence posture

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel should adopt an overt and explicit nuclear deterrence posture to increase the odds favouring peace and security, according to a new book by Dr. Shai Feldman, a research associate at Tel Aviv University's Centre for Strategic Studies.

The book, *Israel Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980s* published by Columbia University Press, constitutes the first detailed study of the effects and implications of altering Israel's strategy from conventional defence to nuclear deterrence.

While Feldman does not profess to know whether or not Israel presently has a nuclear capability, his position is the same in either case: If Israel has a nuclear capability she should declare it; if not, she should develop nuclear weapons and announce the capability. But, in Feldman's view, this ostensibly hawkish proposal is to be coupled with a flexible political posture regarding the territories Israel has occupied since the 1967 war, thereby improving the chances of a political peace settlement in the area.

"Once Israel adopts an overt nuclear posture, she would stand an excellent chance of deterring Arab efforts to challenge her basic survival. "This gain," says Feldman, "will be retained even if the Arab states react by adopting nuclear deterrence postures of their own. The issue of Israel's survival will be more important to her than Israel's destruction will be to her neighbours. Should her survival be threatened, she will demonstrate greater willingness to run risks. The balance of deterrence will tilt in her favour."

Another central claim is that Israel's nuclear posture may also deter her neighbours from opting for lower levels of violence, such as limited mobile war, wars of attrition, and guerrilla warfare. The author says that Israel's ability to deter such challenges would depend on the nature of the issue under dispute. Feldman points out that "Israel is unlikely to deter Arab efforts to regain some of the territories she has occupied since the June 1967 war. Her neighbours see these territories as their own, while Israel lacks a national consensus on the question of Israeli sovereignty over these territories."

Ministries at odds over West Bank home building

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A dispute over private home construction in the West Bank has broken out between two government ministries — Agriculture and Housing and Construction. At issue is preparation of the basic infrastructure needed by home builders before a certificate of occupancy can be granted.

About two months ago, the Ministerial Settlement Committee ruled that communities to be built in Judea and Samaria be "permanent" in nature, and mandated responsibility for that to the Housing and Construction ministry.

Meanwhile, the Agriculture Ministry has begun its programme of liberal allocation of building plots in that area, aimed mainly at Israelis interested in buying a site and building their own home.

In a scathing letter to Deputy Agriculture Minister Michael Dekel, the director-general of the Housing and Construction Ministry, Asher Winer, reminds Dekel that the State Lands Administration (now an arm of the Agriculture Ministry) may allocate lands only according to three criteria. These are by auction; by specially approved non-tender sales, such as for disabled persons; and through the Housing and Construction Ministry, for public or private building.

Nevertheless, Winer writes, the Land Administration's "allocation committee" is by-passing these guidelines and transferring land to private developers and builders without coordinating these sales transfers with the Housing and Construction Ministry.

An official of the latter ministry told *The Jerusalem Post* last night: "We are just as enthusiastic about settlement in the West Bank as Dekel and his ministry. But this activity must be well planned and organized if it is to succeed. Unfortunately, some people who buy lots there now without consulting us first may find themselves at a dead end.

"Their new homes will be standing, but they will be unable to live in them. Only our ministry can provide the roads, utilities and water supply to new communities. And we will furnish these facilities only if we are consulted beforehand."

The body handling this consultation service is the Housing Ministry's rural development administration, headed by Yosef Margalit.

Labour's Young Guard in shift from left to centre

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Young Guard of the Labour Party has unanimously elected 35-year-old manufacturer Moshe Cohen, as chairman, in a move heralding a shift from the left toward the centre of the political spectrum. The balance of power is now seen as shifting from its secretary-general Haim Ramon to Cohen.

Sources in the Young Guard told *The Jerusalem Post* that what had happened was a "revolution." Cohen is being described as the Young Guard's strongman and his unanimous election resulted from a wall-to-wall coalition involving all groups.

Cohen told the *Post* that the "Young Guard will now seek to put an end to the leftward lurch of the entire party. Although the extreme left brings us headlines, it loses us votes."

The Young Guard, according to Cohen, will also press for the termination of Labour's alignment with Mapam, will strive to effect a rapprochement with the religious parties and will seek to "alter Labour's image from that of an establishment party to a party of the people, a party which represents residents of the Katamonim and the Tikva quarter every bit as much as it represents those who live in Rehavia and Ramat Aviv."

SWASTIKAS. — Vandals early yesterday morning painted two swastikas on the walls of the social services office in Mevasseret Yerushalayim.

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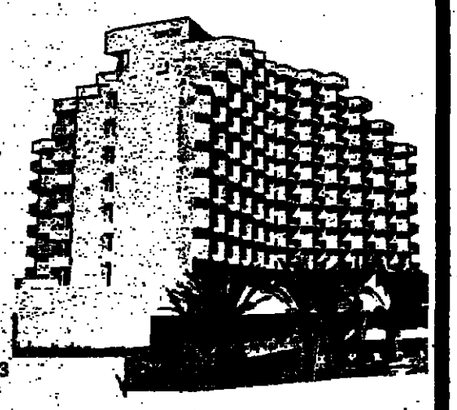
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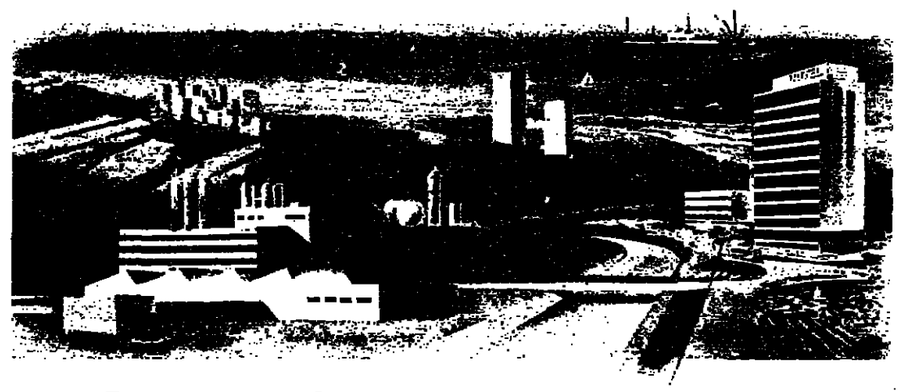


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THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

A WELCOME AWAITS YOU AT THE BOOK & MUG.

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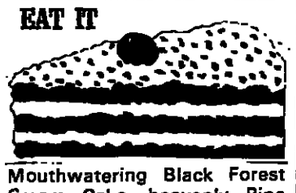
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In Zimbabwe

5 trampled to death as 10,000 greet Zhao

HARARE, Zimbabwe (Reuter). — Five women were killed and at least 30 persons injured when a crowd surged forward to welcome Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang at Harare airport yesterday, hospital officials said.

Reporters said that about 10,000 people, who had been ferried to the airport by buses to greet Zhao on his arrival from Zambia, rushed for the runway, squeezing some people against a barrier and trampling others underfoot.

Ambulances carried the dead and injured to Harare's Parirenyatwa Hospital. The acting superintendent, Dr. Doreen Shannan, said most of the casualties had head injuries from being trampled.

Zimbabwe is the ninth country to be visited by Zhao on his 11-nation tour of Africa.

Zhao, who is staying for three days, was welcomed at the airport by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and his cabinet as well as by the chanting crowd.

Later, he was received by President Canaan Banana at state house.

The government-controlled radio broadcast frequent appeals for Zimbabweans to greet Zhao at the airport.

The broadcasts said China had trained thousands of guerrillas who fought in the bush war against the old white Rhodesian government which preceded Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

The radio said China had also supplied the guerrillas with weapons and food.

Epithets traded in El Salvador military uprising

SAN SALVADOR. — Defence Minister Jose Guillermo Garcia said Saturday the army commander leading a mutiny in a northern province was "corrupted by ambition and servility." The mutineer responded by calling Garcia "a little Hitler."

In his first public comment on the two-day-old rebellion, Garcia said it had been "isolated" within Cabanas province. He added that Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa's action hurt Salvador's bid for democracy.

Ochoa, who is demanding Garcia's resignation, is believed to have about 900 troops with him in Sensutepeque, 70 kilometres northeast of the capital. He also claims to have the support of three garrisons, including one headed by air force commander Colonel Juan Rafael Bustillo.

Calling Garcia "a little Hitler," Ochoa told a press conference in the town of Sensutepeque on Saturday that he had won pledges of support as well from two U.S.-trained battalions of the army.

As he spoke at the military barracks, some 500 civilians staged a demonstration in his support at the town's main square. One demonstrator waved a placard saying: "Do not send our colonel away." (AP, Reuter)

Falkland commander joins UK jobless

LONDON (AP). — The general who commanded the landing in the Falkland Islands and accepted the surrender of the Argentine forces seven months ago, has now joined Britain's three million jobless and has no permanent home, it was reported yesterday.

The *News of the World* quoted the former Royal Marines commando forces leader, Major General Sir Jeremy Moore, as saying: "I've no home and need to find a job. Everyone told me getting a job wouldn't be a problem, but so far no company has offered me one."

Moore, 54, retired just before Christmas. He had been due for retirement when he was appointed to lead the British landings in the Falklands last May.

Sing Sing rebels hold 15 hostages

OSSINING, New York (Reuter). — Six hundred prisoners took over a cell block in the prison once popularly known as Sing Sing and held 15 warders hostage yesterday.

One guard, who was slightly injured in the takeover, was released overnight in exchange for prescription drugs needed by some of the prisoners, officials at the Ossining correctional facility said.

The prisoners were armed only with sticks, they said, and little damage had been done to the prison.

The officials said they were in touch with the rebelling inmates, but they did not say what the prisoners were demanding.

One killed in attempt to hijack Chinese plane

HONGKONG (AP). — An attempt to hijack a Chinese plane to Taiwan was foiled last Wednesday and one person was killed in an apparent struggle, a pro-nationalist Hongkong newspaper reported yesterday.

The Hongkong Times, quoting unidentified sources, said it was not known how many hijackers were involved nor was it clear whether the person killed was a hijacker, passenger or a member of the plane's crew. The newspaper said the Soviet-built Ilyushin-14 was on a flight from the city of Hangzhou to Shanghai when the hijack attempt occurred and a struggle ensued.

British widows say N-tests caused cancer deaths

LONDON (AP). — Widows of servicemen involved in British nuclear weapons test in Australia in the 1950s are claiming their husbands died of cancer caused by exposure to radiation.

Details will be screened on Wednesday in a television programme on the Channel 4 commercial network, *The Makers*, Broadsword Productions announced yesterday.

London's *Observer* reported yesterday that 10,000 British military personnel took part in the six-year programme of 20 nuclear blasts in Australia and on Christmas Island, from 1958. It said Australian authorities are trying to trace 2000 of their citizens.

The newspaper said a call for a check on the medical records of the British servicemen has been made by the British Legion, a veterans' organization, supported by Lord Penney, who headed development of British nuclear weapons.

The film reports a claim by the Australian Nuclear Veterans Association that 114 of the Australian servicemen have died, 100 from cancer.

The film quotes Australian servicemen as saying safety arrangements were lax. Up to 300 compensation claims may be lodged by them against their government by the end of this year, the film reports.

The *Observer* said that more than 150 of the British servicemen have died from cancer or are suffering from illnesses that may be radiation-related, and "the weight of testimony now accumulating is going to provide new Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine with calls for an inquiry that may be hard to resist."

'Pope's attacker promised lesser term'

ROME (AP). — Italian intelligence agents promissed Mehmet Ali Agca that his life sentence for shooting the Pope would be reduced to 10 years if he told who was behind the attack, a magazine has reported.

The left-wing Rome weekly *L'Espresso* said that two secret service agents visited Agca in his cell at Ascoli Piceno Prison on December 29, 1981, more than seven months after he shot and seriously injured John Paul in St. Peter's Square.

"The secret services promised that if I talk they will make me serve 10 years at the most," Agca was quoted as telling a lawyer, who the magazine did not name.

After the meeting Agca began giving information about alleged Bulgarian involvement in the attack to state prosecutor Ilario Martella, the magistrate heading the probe into the pope's shooting, the report said.

Scientific failure may curb snail fever

NEW YORK (AP). — Researchers in England are trying to turn a scientific failure into a medical success that could control one of the developing world's most debilitating diseases.

They are testing the effectiveness of dissolving glass as a medium for copper, which can control snail fever, (also known as bilharzia) or schistosomiasis, a disease the World Health Organization says affects 200 million people.

Field testing by the Liverpool (England) School of Tropical Medicine and a subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telecommunications Corporation, which developed the glass, began in Lusaka, Zambia, last November. The first results are expected in May.

Snail fever, which the WHO lists as the second most crippling disease in the Third World behind malaria, is prevalent in Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Asia. It is caused by a parasite that lives on aquatic snails in shallow water, then enters the human body with often fatal results.

ITT created the glass by accident during a botched effort to develop a super-hard glass for telephone switching components in the 1970s.

The company was ready to throw out the work and begin again when Cyril Drake, a research chemist working on the project in Harlow, England, found he could control the rate at which the glass dissolves in water.

Since copper was a known means of destroying the parasite-carrying snails that cause schistosomiasis, Drake and scientists at the School of Tropical Medicine developed a copper phosphate glass. When spread in crushed form into snail-infested water, it slowly releases enough copper to prevent the parasite from breeding "for a year or two," Drake said.

When the parasite leaves the snail, it seeks a human host such as a bather or rice planter, and penetrates the skin. Once inside the body, the larvae develop into worms up to 2½ centimetres long that lodge themselves in blood vessels of the liver and intestine, where they produce large numbers of eggs in such a way that can cause fatal damage.

Later, the eggs are discharged through feces, enter snails in contaminated water, and the parasite's life cycle continues.

Drake feels the slow-release copper phosphate glass can break that cycle.

"We know the copper from the glass will kill the snails," Drake said. "We have shown it works perfectly" in the laboratory.

If the tests prove conclusive, ITT plans to sell the dissolving glass compound to developing countries at low cost.

The company said that if the tests work out, it will sell the formula for producing the glass to countries for $1.

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concerning a plot for commercial construction at the Ramot Quarter, Jerusalem.

Indian police hunt axe killer in hippy commune

NEW DELHI (Reuter). — Police have launched a big hunt for an axe killer after two foreigners and an Indian were found hacked to pieces in the southern resort of Goa.

Police named the victims as Frenchman Alain George Cavalera, 32, Australian Lilian Rouben, 30, who had been teaching yoga to hippies, and Ram Swaroop.

Their dismembered bodies were found strewn around a 100 metre area of a hippy commune on Friday morning.

Police said they wanted to interview a French citizen but did not give further details. They said they had found the axe believed to have been used in the murders.

Sports

Ivan the ruthless

CHICAGO (AP). — Ivan Lendl blasted 15 aces and relied on devastating ground strokes to avenge three previous exhibition losses by dismantling Bjorn Borg, 6-1, 7-5 in the $250,000 Challenge of Champions tennis tournament here. Lendl thus advanced to a final match with Jimmy Connors, a 6-1, 5-7, 6-2 victor over John McEnroe.

Lendl worked Borg over so fast and so efficiently at times during the 66-minute match that the capacity crowd took to cheering his faults. He won the opening set in just 18 minutes, drilling six aces as Borg helplessly walked the baseline from side to side.

Connors outduelled McEnroe at his own game, using service placement to maximum advantage en route to his convincing semifinal victory.

While McEnroe dodged a match point in the second set and the battle of aces, 5-0, he was unable to return Connors' service with any authority. Connors, meanwhile, used his return of service effectively, keeping McEnroe on the baseline and punishing his younger opponent frequently on forays into the net.

In London, defending champions Heinz Gunthardt and Balazs Taroczy defeated Brian Gottfried and Raul Ramirez 6-3, 7-5, 7-6 to win the WCT world doubles championship at the Royal Albert Hall. The Swiss-Hungarian combination became the first pair ever to win the title two years in succession, earning jointly $72,000 for their effort.

On the women's circuit West Germany's Sylvia Hanika, down 5-2 in the final set, staged a brilliant comeback to upset No. 2 seed Andrea Jaeger, 6-7, 6-3, 7-5 to advance to ths final of the $150,000 tournament in Washington. Hanika will meet top-seeded Martina Navratilova, an easy 6-1, 6-3 winner over unseeded Mary Lou Piatek.

Raviv beaten but far from disgraced

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Raviv Weidenfeld, Israel's promising junior, lost in the final of the Coqui Bowl tennis championships in Puerto Rico on Saturday evening. He was beaten 6-2, 6-2 by Brazilian Santos Domante but since this was the Israel youngster's first venture into under-14 competiton his performance was most meritorious. Weidenfeld had turned 12 last October. The important Rolex tournament in New York which he recently won began in the last calendar year, so he was the still eligible to play in the under-11 division.

Israel still has the prospect of a title winner in the same Sea Juan tournament with Gilad Bloom winning through in convincing style to the final of the under-16 event. He scored a 6-4, 6-1 victory over Greece's Tasos Ballas.

Dolphins lifted by Woodley accuracy

NEW YORK (AP). — The Miami Dolphins ended eight years of post-season frustration by beating the New England Patriots 28-13, while the Oakland Raiders coasted past the Cleveland Browns 27-10 in opening-day action of the National Football League playoffs on Saturday.

The Washington Redskins drubbed the Detroit Lions 31-7 and the Green Bay Packers, back in post-season play for the first time in 10 years, routed the St. Louis Cardinals 41-16 in a pair of National conference runaways.

David Woodley, tossing a pair of touchdown passes to Bruce Hardy and setting up two other scores with pinpoint passing hoisted the Dolphins into their convincing victory over the Patriots.

Woodley, a third-year pro who averaged only 120 yards per game passing during the strike-shortened regular season, pierced the Patriots' second line of defence for 246 yards on 16-of-19 passing.

Jim Plunkett picked the Cleveland secondary apart, passing for 386 yards as the Raiders breezed past the Browns into the second round of the playoffs.

Zamalek beaten but still ahead

Post Sports Staff

A crowd of 100,000 jammed the Abdul Nasser Stadium in Cairo for the major soccer derby of the Egyptian First Division. Al Ahali downed their perennial rivals Zamalek 1-0, but despite the defeat Zamalek continue to head the league table at the half-way stage, a single point ahead of their fellow Cairenes.

In contrast to the huge crowd in Cairo a total of only 21,000 people paid to watch Saturday's eight National League matches here in Israel.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL: NBA results — Golden State 110 Seattle 104; San Diego 122 Denver 120.

SPORTOTO DIVIDENDS: The absence of surprises in the weekend Israeli football meant that dividends from the football pools are extremely low. Each of the 157 persons who forecast all 13 matches correctly won IS50,900. 12 correct is worth IS1,138 and 11 — IS134. The multitude of entrants with 10 correct means there is no fourth dividend pay-out.

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Vol. CXXXII—No. 45,553

Sunday, January 9, 1983

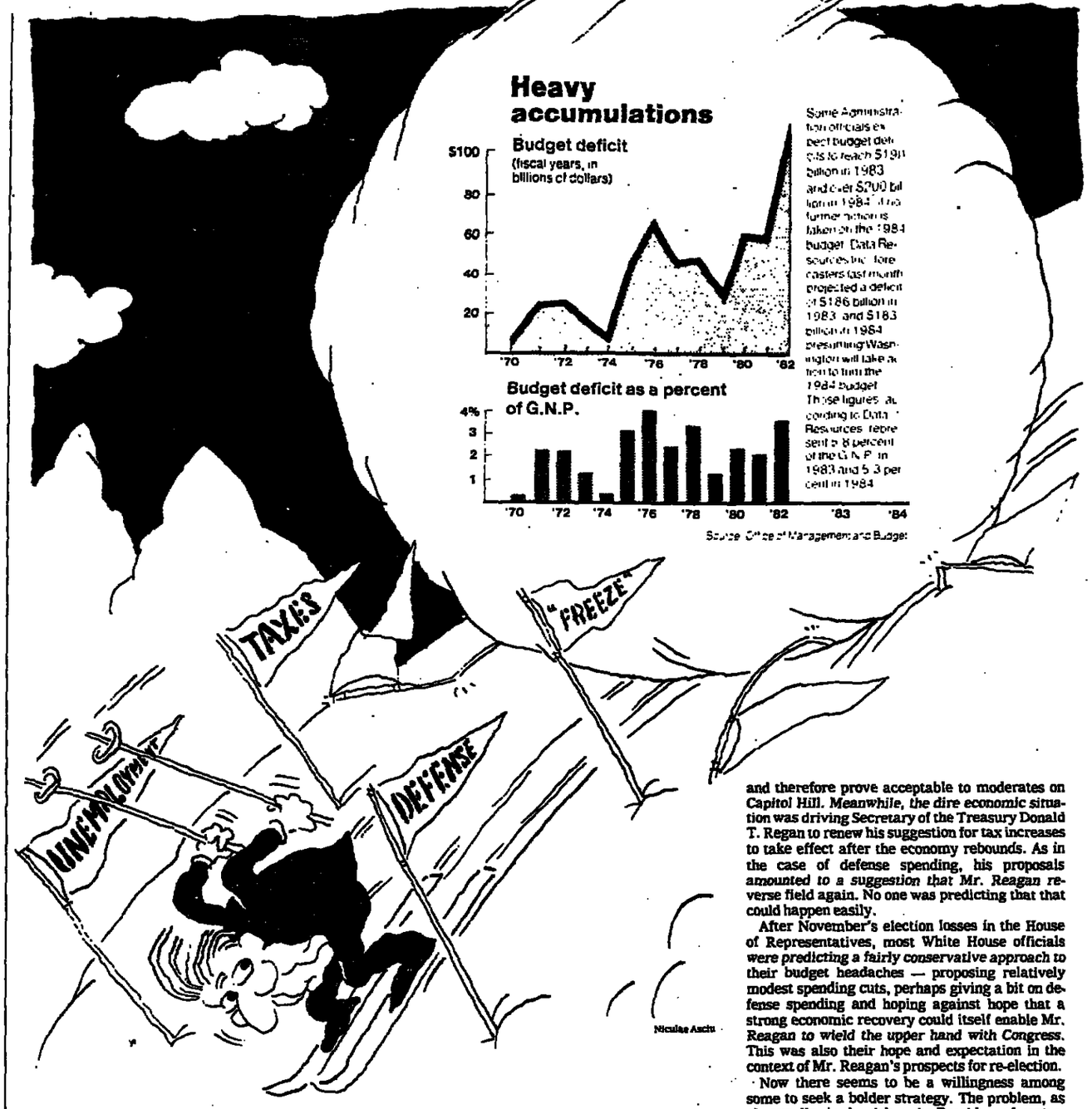
The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW

Printed and distributed in Israel in association with The Jerusalem Post

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Cuts and Bruises



Reagan Ponders Lonely Decision, With Lots of Help

"He makes himself believe eventually," is how a White House aide last week described how the President's mind works. By now, the Administration's truest believer has many options on which to build a new economic faith.

Jan. 31 is the deadline for him to send Congress a Federal budget, and people with advice have been trooping in and out of the Oval Office for days — House Republicans urging counterproposals to sure Democratic offerings on jobs creation, Senate *allies pushing moderation on defense* spending and senior White House officials arguing for flexibility on deficit-reducing tax increases. By all reports, by week's end, President Reagan *was still listening* — and 1984's projected deficit was still some $200 billion away from the balanced bottom line candidate Reagan pledged during the 1980 campaign.

The figure — characterized by Mr. Reagan's closest friend and political adviser in Congress, Senator Paul Laxalt, as "terrifying" — is in part the product of a rare consensus. Because Martin S. Feldstein, the President's new chief economist, bullied the Adminstration's forecast for economic growth in 1983 down to scale, for the first time the Reagan White House, the Congressional Budget Office and the Federal Reserve agree. *Recovery from the recession, they* concur, and hence a rise in Government revenues that could lighten some of the red ink, will be slow.

There was little in the week's economic *indicators to challenge the* assumption. The unemployment rate in December edged up, to 10.8 percent, from the revised figure for November of 10.7 percent. That puts the average rate for last year at 9.7 percent, the highest since 1941. As for the consumer spending that is supposed to lead the economy out of recession, the nation's top retailers tally of holiday sales showed the slimmest increase in years.

But the President himself fingered the stickier point in his press conference last week when he used the Administration's new catchphrase, "structural deficit." Recovery alone *won't wipe the deficits clean, he said,* because of built-in increases in entitlement spending. Last week, many Congressional Republicans were pointing out what some Democrats *have been saying all along.*

The Reaganomic tax cuts ballyhooed through in 1981 and the Administration's high defense budget, are responsible too. As one veteran of past budget wars put it, "One way I'll say say this year is one of the most difficult is in the size of this deficit and the way it conflicts with this President's beliefs."

Old Dove Flaps Its Wings Again

The North Atlantic allies last week got an offer they couldn't brusquely refuse — a Warsaw Pact proposal for a nonaggression treary that appeared to be addressed at least as much to the West's people as their leaders.

The offer came from Prague where Yuri V. Andopov met his Communist *colleagues for the first time as the* new leader of the Kremlin. Similar proposals as far back as 1955 have been rejected by the West but the Soviet bloc seemed to be counting *heavily on public opinion to make* some headway, and divide the United States from Europe in the process.

"Massive anti-war demonstrations" in the West were praised in the statement. The forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war, it said — "Everything depends on their cohesion and the purposefulness of their actions."

No Western leader, aware of anxiety about the threat of nuclear war and committed to the principle of *nonaggression, rejected the new offer* out of hand. All felt obliged at least to study it.

President Reagan said in his weekly radio talk yesterday that the *Russians clearly "want to appear* more responsible and reasonable — but moderate words are convincing only when they are matched by moderate behavior." He sent Vice Presi*dent Bush to consult with the allies* and Pope John Paul II in Europe.

The West has been wary of such offers partly because it has feared a split in its ranks. In West Germany, the most exposed flank of the alliance, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Social Democratic leader Hans-Jochen Vogel, who are squaring off for a March election, both warmed to the proposal. Even the strongly anti-Soviet British Government urged "the utmost attention" to what Foreign Secretary Francis Pym called "a very important moment in international affairs."

The proposals contained a few encouraging gestures — emphasis on confidence-building measures, such as ways to prevent surprise attacks and exchange *military information,* and references to means of verification of strategic arms agreements, "including, when necessary, international procedures."

The Warsaw Pact also repeated Moscow's offer to reduce its medium-range *missiles in Europe from some* 500 to 162, the level of France's and Britain's land-based missiles — a proposal already rejected by Washington, Paris and London. In exchange, the allies would cancel a plan to deploy 572 American Pershing and cruise missiles this year, which the Soviet bloc called "a most serious threat." The Warsaw Pact denied it sought military superiority or intended to attack anyone and consequently proposed a treaty "on the mutual non-use of force" that would be open to third parties. This would not preclude individual and collective self-defense under United Nations *charter provisions invoked by Mos*cow when it sent troops into Afghanistan three years ago. That action, as much as anything, created the mistrust that the Warsaw Pact nations *deplored last week.*

Tripoli Deaths; Diplomatic Shots

The presence of thousands of Syrian occupation troops in northern Lebanon provoked Moslems to kill Moslems in Tripoli last week. Dozens of civilians were killed as pro-and anti-Syrian militiamen clashed and forces headed by Rifaat al-Assad, brother of Syria's President, were said to be digging in.

Moslem foes of Damascus, putting aside their quarrels with the Christians, called on the Lebanese central Government to send forces from Beirut, 50 miles south. If the Syrians were there to insure security, one Tripoli leader complained, "security could not be any worse."

But Mr. Assad's troops remained at their checkpoints on the Beirut-Tripoli road and Syria's Foreign Minister, Abdel Halim Khaddam, *said they would stay until "the inter*est of Lebanon is for them to withdraw" — presumably as result of negotiations for withdrawal of Israeli and Palestinian forces. *(Marking time at the table, page 4.)*

The crossfire in Lebanon's second city was compounded by schismatic strife between Sunni Moslems and Alawites — whose cousins dominate *the Government of Syrian President* Hafez al-Assad — and groups tied to the anti-Assad Moslem Brotherhood and the Iraqi Baathist party. Yesterday, Lebanon's Prime Minister, Shafik al-Wazzan, met with the Syrian President in Damascus to try to halt the fighting.

While internecine fighting flared in Tripoli, Arab-Israeli conflict smoldered. Israel accused Damascus of building new bases in Syria for big Soviet SAM-5 antiaircraft missiles. And in Washington, Israeli President Yitzhak Navon told President Reagan that attacks on Israel and Judaism in the Egyptian press were spoiling Israel's appetite for further concessions. But Mr. Navon, a potential Labor Party candidate for Prime Minister, avoided divisive issues such as the Reagan peace plan.

The Middle East peace process proved unexpectedly touchy for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as well. Retaliating for her refusal to receive an Arab delegation that included the Palestine Liberation Organization, Saudi Arabia forced Mrs. Thatcher's Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, to cancel a visit to the Persian Gulf. A Saudi official, returning what he saw as a "British insult," contended the refusal was foolhardy in view of London's need for exports. Britain, he added, "is no more than an appendage of the United States [and] in terms of influencing events in the area is almost irrelevant."

[redacted]

Salvadoran military has political strife in the ranks

3

Orderly Game Plan Falters As the Game Draws Near

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Reagan's proposed budget for 1984 was supposed to derive from a process as fine and precise as a Swiss watch. In November and December, he conducted orderly budget reviews, intending to complete most decisions by Christmas and then to make a few adjustments in the New Year. But last week, reports of major new budget initiatives popped up and disappeared like parts of a cuckoo clock gone awry.

With only days to go before the budget for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1 is sent to the printers, an extraordinary confusion prevails. Now, many White House officials' concern is not whether Mr. Reagan will be able to dominate the process by which the Federal budget is enacted, as he did in the first year of his Presidency. It is rather how much leverage he can hope to have, as a pattern improvised last year is institutionalized this year. After the Administration's proposals are sent to Capitol Hill, these officials reason, they will likely be rejected and then worked over extensively, just as they were last spring when the "Gang of 17," a bipartisan group including White House officials, pulled back on many proposed cuts in domestic programs and started the calculations that led to the summer's $99 billion tax increase.

The air of crisis has arisen from a revised projected deficit of more than $200 billion for 1984, that grows to perhaps $300 billion by 1988 — deficits so huge that routine program cuts cannot whittle them away and "supply side" slogans cannot explain them away. For all the pre-Christmas briefings, Mr. Reagan himself was said to have been taken aback at the enormity of the task ahead when his advisers outlined it last Monday.

The new deficit figure is the result of two factors: first, the realization that the economy has been sputtering even more than previously supposed, and second, the triumph of Martin S. Feldstein. The new chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers insisted that the Administration err, if anywhere, on the side of caution in predicting when recovery from the lingering recession would occur. Last week, Mr. Reagan — reluctantly, by some accounts — accepted a lowered forecast for average economic growth, of 1.4 percent in 1983. That pushed deficit projections up.

At the White House, the main explanation for the past days' seeming confusion lay in what Reagan aides characterized as an organized effort to increase the President's leverage in budget recalculations by reflecting his Congressional allies' thinking. Before his New Year's holiday in California, for example, Mr. Reagan said he would oppose additional cuts in military spending, participants in budget meetings say. Last week, he heard from Republican leaders in Congress, more bluntly than before, that cuts in military spending would be made with or without his cooperation. Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger was sent back to the Pentagon to find some.

But as for domestic programs, the process seems reversed. Last Nov. 12, Mr. Reagan tentatively ordered $26 billion in new cuts. Some senior White House officials then predicted privately that he would heed Congressional warnings that they could could never be enacted. Indeed, in an internal budget appeals process Cabinet secretaries got many, if not most, of the $26 billion rescinded. Last week, however, David A. Stockman, the budget director, estimated the cuts at $30 billion. In explanation, a senior White House official said they had been "recalibrated" to take the new economic forecast into account.

Some high Administration officials, searching for a strategy to bring future deficits down, began moving well beyond the $30 billion by promoting a new idea, generated by conservatives in Congress, to "freeze" selected Government programs. Key aides said its attraction was that it might encompass some areas of military spending — military pay and retirement, perhaps — and therefore prove acceptable to moderates on Capitol Hill. Meanwhile, the dire economic situation was driving Secretary of the Treasury Donald T. Regan to renew his suggestion for tax increases to take effect after the economy rebounds. As in the case of defense spending, his proposals amounted to a suggestion that Mr. Reagan reverse field again. No one was predicting that that could happen easily.

After November's election losses in the House of Representatives, most White House officials were predicting a fairly conservative approach to their budget headaches — proposing relatively modest spending cuts, perhaps giving a bit on defense spending and hoping against hope that a strong economic recovery could itself enable Mr. Reagan to wield the upper hand with Congress. This was also their hope and expectation in the context of Mr. Reagan's prospects for re-election.

Now there seems to be a willingness among some to seek a bolder strategy. The problem, as always, lies in the risk to the President of venturing too far. An important case in point is the Social Security system, which a bipartisan commission headed by economist Alan Greenspan says will run a deficit of perhaps $200 billion by 1989. When it comes to Social Security, the Reagan Administration and most of Congress display what psychologists call "approach-avoidance." Mr. Reagan especially rails about the need to find savings. But every time he comes close to proposing benefit cuts, he retreats quickly for fear of the political consequences. He did just that last week at his press conference, when he said he would continue to refuse entreaties ("I don't care how much they ask for it") to specify his approach.

Yet if Mr. Reagan wants dramatic action in bringing the Federal deficit down, many of his own allies agree he will have to take more of the initiative on Social Security, as they hope he will on other programs — particularly in military spending, which is due to grow faster than the economy and inflation combined because of the *Administration's defense buildup.* The urgent, even frantic atmosphere surrounding Mr. Reagan's budget deliberations last week might itself contribute to a solution. It is easier for a President to ask for drastic action when there is a crisis, even if some feel the crisis was brought on in part by the Administration's policies.

The Democrats Get Even



United Press International
Representative Phil Gramm

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON

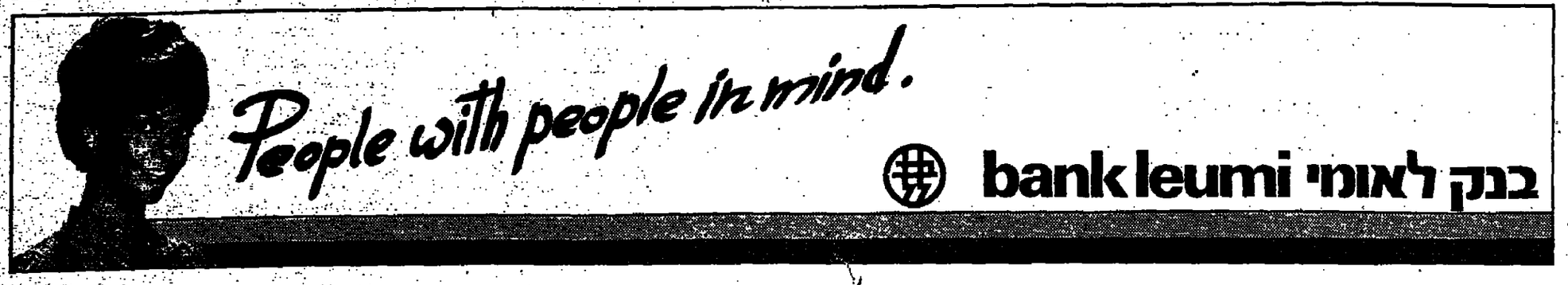
WHEN the 98th Congress opened its doors last week, Representative Doug Barnard Jr., a four-term Democrat from Georgia, bid for a seat on the prestigious House Appropriations Committee. Mr. Barnard had a good case, since the slot had been held by a fellow Georgian. It went instead to Representative Bill Boner, a moderate from Tennessee.

That small decision told a lot about the new tenor on Capitol Hill. Mr. Barnard is a pure-bred "boll weevil," one of the two-dozen conservative Democrats who often provided President Reagan with his margins of victory. With 26 more Democrats in the House, that leverage is gone. The Democratic leadership lost no time in demonstrating it.

Once the lawmakers were sworn in, a series of rules changes were swiftly propounded to speed up the legislative process and reduce the ability of the minority to hinder the majority. The rules gave the Speaker greater authority to waive certain procedural votes, and made it much more difficult for members to offer amendments to appropriations bills, once only used to set spending levels. In recent years conservatives have attached amendments pursuing causes from bans on federally financed abortions to prohibitions against school busing.

Supporters of the new rules argued that they promoted efficiency while thwarting the guerrilla tactics of the right wing. But many Republicans, and a few Democrats, denounced them as a hypocritical attempt to "run roughshod over the rights of individual members." After all, the critics maintained, antiwar legislators had once used riders on appropriations bills to bar funding for the Vietnam war. (The tactics of die-hard conservatives also provoked a reaction in the Senate, where leaders announced formation of a bipartisan panel to recommend changes in the filibuster rules to prevent a small band of dissenters from tying up the chamber.)

The House leadership's influence was further enhanced by organizational efforts. Representative Phil Gramm of Texas, the most ornery of the boll weevils, was ousted from the Budget Committee; he promptly announced that he was resigning his House seat and running again as a Republican. Other boll weevils suffered lesser chastisements. John B. Breaux of Louisiana failed to win a spot on the Budget Committee and Roy Dyson of Maryland, on the Appropriations Committee. G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery of Mississippi was re-elected chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, but lost 53 votes in the party caucus. The vote, he said, was a way for his colleagues to "let their frustrations." But conservatives, he conceded, would likely be more cooperative with their party leaders in this Congress.



The Nation

Rostow's Deputy Walks the Plank; Rostow Hangs In

The standing of Jesse Helms and Company may have dipped for the moment on Capitol Hill, but at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, Senator Helms and his fellow conservatives appear to have clout to spare.

Last week, the White House announced that the nomination of Robert T. Grey, who Eugene V. Rostow wanted to be his deputy in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, would not be resubmitted to the new Congress because conservative opposition would make gaining Senate confirmation "very difficult." A mere three weeks ago, a spokesman insisted that President Reagan had "full confidence" in Mr. Grey, whose nomination had been stalled for 10 months in the old Congress because, in the view of Mr. Helms and others, he would be insufficiently hard-nosed.

Mr. Rostow complained that Mr. Grey had been shot down by "people who don't want any agreement at all" with the Soviet Union. Mr. Grey wasn't Senator Helms's first confirmed kill; last year, conservative opposition prompted the Administration to give up on Norman Terrell, who would have been an assistant director of the arms control agency.

There was speculation that the ditching of Mr. Grey was intended as



Eugene V. Rostow

a signal that Mr. Rostow should start cleaning out his desk. He has been without an ally in the White House bunkers since national security adviser Richard V. Allen resigned last year. But Mr. Rostow, a Democrat who supported Mr. Reagan's election, had either missed the message if there was one or was digging in his heels. "I am planning to stay on for the moment," he said.

The Administration apparently will still push for the confirmation of Richard Burt, who has been nominated as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. Mr. Burt has drawn considerable conservative opposition, partly because of articles he wrote about national security matters as a New York Times reporter. Unlike Mr. Grey, he has an influential sponsor, Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Also pending is the nomination of Richard McCormick, a prospective head of State's economics bureau who was once an aide to Senator Helms and is opposed by liberal Democrats.

More on MX

After 10 years of acrimony over where best to stash the MX, can yet another study group do any better in a month and a half? Maybe not, Brent Scowcroft, chairman of the latest commission said at a press conference. "Obviously the problem is very difficult," he said. "If it were not, it would already be solved."

The work of the 11-member panel named last week might be speeded by the fact that it's not carrying a heavy payload of technicians. For the most part the members are national security policy specialists (including former Director of Central Intelligence Richard Helms and James Woolsey, once an Under Secretary of the Navy) and a few under- and unemployed politicians (including William Clements, just turned out of the Texas State House).

Meanwhile, President Reagan attempted to raise the stakes, declaring in a letter to Representative Jack Kemp that if the MX were voted down he would have to reassess — presumably for a lengthy period — the United States's position in arms control talks with the Soviet Union. Mr. Kemp, Republican of New York, had urged suspending participation in the talks if Capitol Hill did not support both the MX and the shorter-range Pershing 2 missile.

Mrs. Dole Chosen For Cabinet Job

For those in the Washington fishbowl, it can be awkward to espouse causes one's spouse opposes. As a White House aide, Elizabeth H. Dole often found herself defending the Reagan Administration as vigorously as her husband, Senator Bob Dole, criticized it.

President Reagan may have ended that sometimes embarassing state of affairs last week when he nominated Mrs. Dole to succeed Drew Lewis as Secretary of Transporation. It was seen as a shrewd move by the President, aimed at least partially at avoiding future embarassment if Mr. Dole, a Kansas Republican, should escalate his criticism in preparation for a run at Mr. Reagan's job.

Mrs. Dole, a Harvard-trained lawyer and former member of the Federal Trade Commission, would become the first woman to head a Reagan Cabinet agency. The move would keep Mrs. Dole, who the President said had "performed magnificently" as liaison to special interest groups, in the Administration but at a distance from the White House.

Miami May Find Obvious Answers

In Miami last week it was again time to brush aside the riot rubble and start parceling out the blame.

The violence after Christmas in the Overtown area, near downtown Miami, Police Chief Kenneth Harms said, was the work of "200 to 250 hoodlums." In response, spokesmen for civil rights groups called for Harms's dismissal and an overhaul of police procedures. The disturbance, which resulted in the shooting death of a suspected looter and in nearly three dozen injuries over three days, began after a police officer, Luis Alvarez, shot and critically wounded Nevell Johnson Jr., a black man who had been playing a video game. Mr. Johnson died in a hospital.

Chief Harms said Mr. Johnson was carrying a gun in his waistband and was shot after he made a sudden movement. Some witnesses said the shooting was unprovoked, and it was disclosed that Officer Alvarez had been patroling outside his assigned beat. In January 1982, five citizens complaints were lodged against the officer; he was subsequently cleared.

City, state and Federal officials all launched investigations. City Hall also weighed in with that time-honored response to urban unrest, a blue-ribbon commission to "look at the underlying basic issues." Some Miamians thought they aleady knew. "People took to the streets in resentment of the shooting," said the Rev. Theoford Johnson, an Overtown minister. He and others said that economic hardships had fanned the violence, as had the feeling that there had been few improvements in the lot of Miami's blacks since the May 1980 riots in the Liberty City section.

There They Go Again

Republican Presidential aspirants may have to put their ambitions in neutral until Ronald Reagan decides whether to seek re-election, but the Democrats officially began to gear up last week for 1984.

Partisans founded campaign committees and the party announced the delegate allocations for the nominating convention — and began quibbling over changes in the procedures for selecting them. As backers of former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, former Florida Gov. Reubin Askew and Senator Alan Cranston of California set up campaign committees, a Gallup Poll showed Mr. Mondale and Senator John Glenn of Ohio leading President Reagan.

Aides said Senator Glenn, who also led Mr. Mondale in the poll, would form a committee this week. Mr. Mondale's aides, meanwhile, said their man would announce his candidacy the week of Feb. 21.

The Mondale committee said it had taken only 72 hours to raise the $200,000 in contributions necessary to qualify for Federal matching funds. Aides said they expected to have to raise $18 million to win a Mondale nomination. They will need all they can get if the Federal Election Commission makes good on its resolution last week to continue trying to enforce a ban on massive spending by independent campaign groups in support of candidates who are already receiving Federal funds.

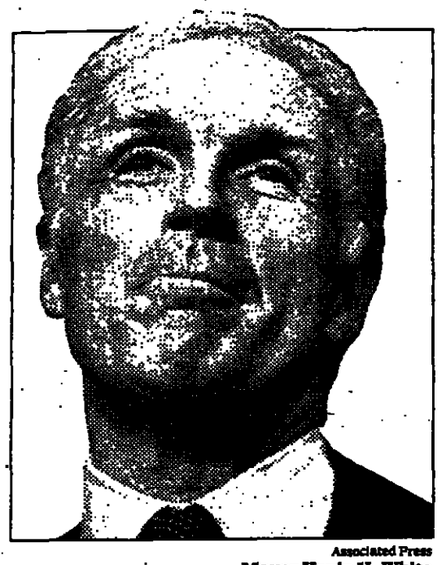
The Democratic National Committee announced that it too would be enforcing some new rules. In an effort to shorten the primary and caucusing season by five weeks — it was 20 weeks long in 1980 — the committee said it would ban such activity before March 13, 1984, except in the case of Iowa and New Hampshire. Officials in Vermont and Maine said they might have problems with that, but Charles T. Manatt, the Democratic chairman, said he was optimistic that all would comply.

The committee increased the number of delegates to be selected to 3,923 — it was 3,331 in 1980 — to give party officials and members of Congress more say in nominating a candidate.

Caroline Rand Herron,
Michael Wright
and Carlyle C. Douglas

Embattled Boston Mayor Reports Campaign Contributions Tomorrow

Contractors, City Workers Are White's Biggest Fans



Associated Press
Mayor Kevin H. White

By DUDLEY CLENDINEN

BOSTON — Here as elsewhere, election campaigns involve politicians pursuing money and spending in pursuit of votes. But strange as it might seem in a city so consumed by politics, campaign contributions and the public somehow have diverged.

The records of recent years indicate that the citizenry at large no longer appears to play any significant role in financing the campaigns of the man who has served now for 15 years as Mayor of Boston, and who raised almost $1 million to win the last election — Kevin H. White.

Instead, in the cases where the Mayor's lists of contributors have been examined, the money has come overwhelmingly from city employees and their families, or from private contractors doing business with the city, or commercial property owners and real estate developers. Frequently, they live outside the city, and thus, to the extent that money determines the outcome of the race, the Boston public seems largely uninvolved.

This has become evident through the attention now focused on the Mayor's administration and political machine by a Federal investigation. But the basic facts of the matter were gathered by a municipal agency independent of control by City Hall, the Boston Finance Commission.

Created some 70 years ago, the commission was given a broad mandate to monitor finance and administration. In the spring of 1975, the commission examined the list of 1,610 contributors to the Mayor's fund-raising committee filed with the city clerk's office that January by the treasurer of the committee, William J. Galvin, Mayor White's father-in-law.

It discovered that 758 of them were city employees, 471 were people either doing business with the city or in a position to do so in the future, and 28 were people who had received substantial tax abatements on commercial property in Boston — abatements generally of more than $50,000. Those three classes of contributors made up three-quarters of the total, and provided three-quarters of the $382,690 raised.

Out-of-Town Help

The commission did not explore the White committee's list of contributors in the 1979 election, but there are many pages of $100 to $1,000 contributions from out-of-city residents.

In 1981, adverse publicity forced Mayor White to cancel a fund-raising event staged as a birthday party for his wife at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where the Mayor is an ex-officio trustee.

A State Ethics Commission investigation has shown that the birthday committee received $122,000 in contributions from hundreds of people, many of whom had never met Mrs. White, and many of whom were on the municipal payroll.

The birthday party triggered the now-broadened Federal investigation, and a Federal grand jury is looking into circumstances under which those contributions were made.

In any event, Mayor White announced that the birthday contributions would be returned. But six months later, a new fund-raising committee was formed. It was called the Committee for a Better Boston and its officers were Theodore V. Anzalone, the Mayor's chief fund-raiser, who had helped arrange the birthday party, and the Mayor's brother-in-law, William J. Galvin Jr.

In four short months, the Committee for a Better Boston raised $139,000, according to the report and list of contributions it filed in January 1982. Most of the few names which have been publicly reported as birthday party contributors appear on the Better Boston list.

The Finance Commission also examined the contributors to this new committee. "Eighty-five to 90 percent of them," says Jeffrey Conley, the executive director of the commission, "are city employees and their families."

Mayor White spoke last week of the stresses of the Federal investigation, and stayed overnight in a Boston hospital complaining of fatigue. The deadline for declaring his candidacy in this year's mayoral election is not until mid-June, and the results of his fund-raising efforts in 1982 won't be known until tomorrow, when by law, the reports must be filed.

If the growing separation between the Boston public and the money raised to persuade it at election time is in part a function of Mr. White's use of city government as a self-perpetuating fund-raising machine, it is also the latest phase in a long evolution which is both political and demographic. Boston mayors have historically relied on vendors, or contractors, and the tax abatement process for contributions, according to Joseph S. Slavet, director of the Urban Observatory at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

"You know, the municipal system is largely a system of rewards that go to the beneficiaries because they happen to be with the winner," Mr. Slavet said.

And while the city's skyline and downtown have been enriched by development, the ownership lives mainly elsewhere, he said. The city is small and shrinking. It lost 12 percent of its population in the last decade and now forms only about 20 percent of its statistical metropolitan area of more than 2.5 million. Only 30 percent of the city's residents own their own homes, Mr. Slavet said; the rest rent.

Alexander Ganz, research director of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, noted last week that 55 percent of the city's population is in the lower income bracket. The middleclass shrank by 5 percent from 1969 to 1979, and the median family income for 1979 was among the lowest of any major central city — lower than Cleveland's, Chicago's, Baltimore's or Atlanta's. One in five Boston residents, Mr. Ganz said, is considered to live in poverty.

All of that makes raising campaign money difficult for a nonincumbent, and enhances the power of a rich campaign treasury. "You almost don't win elections in Boston," says City Councilor Raymond Flynn, a candidate for mayor. "You almost buy them."

Now It's the Union, Not Management, That Is Cool to Profit Sharing

Detroit Banks on an Era of Good Feeling

By JOHN HOLUSHA

DETROIT — The automobile industry began 1983 with mildly encouraging sales reports and new labor contracts that were products of a tumultuous year of almost continuous bargaining. But a tense situation at the Chrysler Corporation and a strike by Chrysler's 10,000 Canadian workers have raised doubts that the new era in labor relations, proclaimed by many auto executives, has really arrived.

All in all, according to sales figures released last week, 1982 was the industry's worst year in almost two decades. But sales soared 28.5 percent in the final 10 days of the year. Automobile sales are expected to pick up somewhat in 1983, if only because the cars that are on the road now are an average of seven and a half years old and are wearing out. Most forecasts predict that about 9 million cars will be sold, up from 7.9 million last year. Industry analysts estimate the Big Three companies will all make money and that their total profit will be close to $3 billion.

But the long-term health of the industry will depend in large part on how successfully it can control costs and improve relations with its work force. The new agreements at Ford and General Motors seemed to signal a more cooperative relationship between management and labor. In return for concessions totaling $3.5 billion over two and a half years, the auto companies gave up some cherished management rights.

Walter Reuther, the late president of the auto workers union, would probably have been amused by some bargaining strategies. When Mr. Reuther suggested linking pay increases to a freeze in the price of cars just after World War II, he was denounced for his "socialist dreams." With recent profits scarce or nonexistent and with little prospect of a quick return to prosperity, both Ford and G.M. gave in quickly on profit sharing. G.M. even tried to link wages and the price of cars — another Reuther concept — by offering to pass through wage concessions to car buyers, but rank and file bargainers balked at concessions of $5 an hour out of total compensation of about $20 an hour.

Strikes Still Pay Off

Some industry officials are now looking at profit sharing as a way to control labor costs. Peter J. Pestillo, Ford's vice president for labor relations, told a trade group: "We introduced profit sharing as a means of giving our employees a direct stake in our return to better times. It is our hope over time to extend this move toward profit sharing and away from COLA (cost of living adjustments) as a means of permitting the company to retain money when it is needed more."

To Douglas A. Fraser, the president of the U.A.W., profit sharing makes sense in uncertain times. "Until this year, basically, we've tried to divide up the economic pie before it's baked," he said. "That's not really a logical way to go about it — we can't accurately predict what's going to happen to a company for the next three months, let alone the next three years."

But the 2-to-1 rejection by Chrysler workers of a proposed contract that restored cost of living adjustments but tied all other increases to company profits seemed to indicate the concept is more popular with union leaders than down on the assembly line. Indeed, the rejection of the Chrysler contract, and the success of the strike by the Canadian workers in squeezing out an immediate pay increase, conveyed the message that an old-fashioned strike is still the best way to get ahead.

"The Chrysler situation created a definite credibility gap for all concerned, and that is one of the less obvious themes of 1982," said Harley Shaiken, a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "In September, both the company and the union leaders said there was no money for an increase, and then in December there was. That's going to come back and haunt everybody, including G.M. and Ford."



United Press International
Chrysler worker voting on a new one-year contract in Detroit last month.

This attitude on the plant floor, if it extends to other parts of the industry, could pose problems for union leaders, just as it did last year in the ailing steel industry, where two proposals for concessions were accepted by the leadership of the United Steel Workers but rejected by lower ranks. The auto workers union will be back at the bargaining table with Chrysler in November and what happens then will undoubtedly influence negotiations with Ford and G.M., whose contracts expire in September 1984.

Indefinite layoffs among autoworkers hit 269,400 last week, a record. Not surprisingly, U.A.W. leaders seem intent more on protecting the gains of the past than breaking new ground. There are a lot fewer comments about the inevitability of the four-day work week these days.

The question is whether the rank and file will accept slices of unearned future profits and assurances of "lifetime" job security, which are only good for the two- or three-year term of the contract anyway, in place of cash in hand. The experience at Chrysler, and the narrow 52 percent margin of approval of the G.M. contract, suggest it will be difficult. There are other unknowns. Will quality of worklife and employee involvement programs defuse the tensions that soured the atmosphere in United States auto plants?

Leaders of the auto companies and the U.A.W., recognizing their mutual dependency, obviously hope so. Roger B. Smith, the chairman of G.M., describes the new contract with the union as "a turning point in the automotive industry." Owen Bieber, a union vice president who is expected to succeed Mr. Fraser in May, is less enthusiastic than Mr. Smith, but says times have changed. "I don't want to suggest you'll never see a strike again," he said. "From time to time there will be strikes, but on the whole there will be more cooperation than confrontation."

The auto industry has traditionally rewarded optimists, and there are still a lot of them around. Earnest Savoie, Ford's director of labor relations planning, offers this view: "There is a relationship between hard times and what has been achieved. But you have to realize that a lot of companies and industries have been through hard times recently and achieved nothing."

Colonel's 'Rebellion' Puts Right-Wing Challenge in the Open

Frustration in the Ranks Heightens Salvador's Military Troubles

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

SAN SALVADOR — As if it didn't have enough problems, the Salvadoran military last week faced a self-proclaimed "rebellion" by one of its most highly regarded commanders. The incident underscored the factionalism that has made it increasingly difficult for the Defense Minister, Gen. José Guillermo García, to keep both the anti-guerrilla war and the political wrangling of his subordinates under control.

The rebel commander, Lieut. Col. Sigifredo Ochoa Pérez, and other rightist officers have become increasingly frustrated and dissatisfied with General García's tactics. These officers, like their rightist counterparts in civilian politics, assert that the general's willingness to try to satisfy Washington on issues such as human rights and land redistribution has hamstrung his ability to contain the Salvadoran guerrilla movement. One Western observer estimates guerrilla strength at about one-fifth that of the military — enough to make trouble but probably not enough to take over.

General García's moves to defend himself against his critics has had an effect on his fighting force that has not, Western analysts concede, been salutary. Among the results have been the transfer of crack officers such as Colonel Ochoa, whom General García tried to send to the Salvadoran Embassy in Uruguay and, as a Western analyst put it, the keeping of "an incompetent in Department X who is a strong supporter, staking out the middle of the political spectrum — if you believe there is a middle of the political spectrum." General García has been sparring privately with the rightist leader, Roberto d'Aubuisson, for months. But Colonel Ochoa's rebuff is his first major public challenge, and its outcome is certain to be viewed as a sign of the Defense Minister's strength or weakness.

Internal dissension is only part of the problem. Despite General García's renewed promises of "decisive action," the military continues to lack the ability, coordination, money and united civilian political backing necessary to mount the kind of offensive that could bring the three-year-old guerrilla insurgency under control. The war remained in a subdued phase last week, but no one was claiming this was anything more than a holiday season lull. In October, General García took advantage of a quiet period to declare the leftists were in their "death throes," only to be embarrassed soon after by a three-month guerrilla offensive that left more than 1,000 of his troops dead or wounded and 500 Government weapons and 150,000 rounds of ammunition in leftist hands.

The relative success of the offensive and the harsh words coming from Washington, which is the Salvadoran Government's primary source of funds, have forced its officials to look at the new year with temerity. "One of the reasons the Salvadoran military has been reluctant to do anything amibitious," a military specialist said, "is that they're worried about how much money they're going to get. Everthing is slow right now because everyone is guarding their bullets."

Only $25 million of aid was authorized, as part of the continuing resolution passed by Congress in its closing days last month; the Reagan Administration had asked for $80 million. Military officials assert that with the reduced amount of aid, there is little chance of creating enough pressure on the guerrillas to resolve the insurgency this year. Congressional sensitivity over aid to Central America surfaced again last week. The Administration lifted the embargo on arms sales to Guatemala, deciding it had taken steps to end human rights abuses, but 77 Congressmen vowed to block the action.

In addition, the Salvadoran military appears to be adrift without an overall plan. Their advisers keep urging them to come up with a "national strategy." But even if they had one, it remains questionable whether all the field commanders — who run their areas with considerable independence — would follow it. Analysts say the military continues to be hampered by "a mindset of conventional military thinking that goes back 50 years," to when Salvador's main military concern was its border dispute with Honduras, not a guerrilla insurgency.

When the recent guerrilla offensive began in the northern part of the country, military advisers urged the Salvadorans not to rush in to halt it, but rather to devote their efforts to protecting the economic base — the crops and the roads that bring them to market and to the ports. "Who gives a damn about Perquin," asked a Western observer, referring to a small town in Morazán province that has been overrun several times, "except the poor benighted souls who live there?"

The military listened for a time, but as the number of guerrilla-held towns grew, the people began to demand action and the colonels became nervous. "You can say for so long that these towns are unimportant," said a Salvadoran military expert, "but when you get up to 21 towns, people begin to doubt the capacity of the armed forces to defend them." The military eventually sent in several thousand troops, routing guerrillas from the occupied towns. But several garrisons were not restaffed, and the leftists reportedly can wander in and out of larger-than-ever areas in the north without challenge.

The leftists, who are generally regarded as having a more astute sense of public relations than the army, also made extensive use of a new weapon — a policy of taking prisoners alive and returning them in well-publicized exchange ceremonies. The effect of letting the army know that if they surrendered they had a good chance of living was, said a Salvadoran analyst, "more devastating than an 81-millimeter mortar."



United Press International
Colonel Sigifrido Ochoa Perez

A Convergence of Religious Oppression, Assassination Speculation and a New Cardinal

A Polish Pope Compounds Kremlin's Fears

By JOHN F. BURNS

MOSCOW — The smoke from the Vatican roof that heralded the election of a Polish Pope in October 1978 can have brought no joy to the Kremlin. Seating the Archbishop of Cracow on the throne of St. Peter would be sure to arouse the pride of 35 million Poles, and to signal nothing good for Soviet dominion over Karol Wojtyla's homeland. That Soviet leaders would have preferred almost any other choice seems sure.

Equally, few Westerners with knowledge of the K.G.B. would doubt that, at some level, the secret police and intelligence apparatus would have listed the removal of Pope John Paul II among its options. Murdering foreign leaders has not been a K.G.B. specialty, but the Pope and the situation in Poland by 1981 posed an unprecedented problem.

Still, many Western diplomats wonder whether the man who runs the country now, Yuri V. Andropov, then head of the K.G.B., would have countenanced a plot of the sort being imputed in Rome. The average Russian shakes his head incredulously at the suggestion that such a delicate operation would be entrusted to a Turk being run by Bulgarians. Nor do many think that a man as shrewd as Mr. Andropov could have believed that killing the Pope would have solved the Kremlin's troubles in Poland.

But speculation linking the shooting in St. Peter's Square to the Soviet leader has created new strains in a relationship with the Roman Catholic church that has been wary at best and, more often, appalling.

The strains may be exacerbated by the Pope's announcement last week that he will elevate a Soviet citizen to the rank of Cardinal. At the age of 87, Julijan Vaivods, the apostolic administrator of Latvia, seemed hardly likely to start any brushfires. Yet from the Kremlin's standpoint, the move had the look of a challenge that made some riposte seem inevitable.

The Pope evidently calculated that by naming Monsignor Vaivods he would signal concern for Catholics throughout the Soviet Union who suffer demoralizing repression and that by drawing attention to their plight, he might extend them some protection. No Pope had publicly named a Soviet cardinal before. There are persistent, although unconfirmed, reports that Julijonas Steponavicius, Bishop of Vilnius in Lithuania, was the unnamed prelate whom Pope John Paul appointed cardinal *in pectore*, or secretly, in May 1979. The Bishop has been exiled to the Lithuanian town of Zagare since 1961, unable to perform his duties in the archdiocese.

Bishop Steponavicius is a clear symbol of faith under duress. Lithuania accounts for perhaps half of the Soviet Union's two million Roman Catholics, concentrated in the Baltic republics and the Ukraine. But the Pope apparently wanted to name a cardinal without the consequences an announcement might have had on Bishop Steponavicius and on the Catholic church as a whole. (More on the College of Cardinals, page 8.)

Catholics, and other believers, have known worse times — when priests and followers were shipped to Siberia without trial to die or languish in labor camps. In 1917, there were 1.5 million Soviet Roman Catholics, mostly in western Russia and the Ukraine. Under Stalin their church almost ceased to exist. Soviet annexation of eastern Poland and the Baltic states in 1940 added five million more who suffered grievously until Stalin died. An underground publication, the Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church, records the excesses — churches burned, priests and parishioners beaten by "Communist thugs" and confined illegally to psychiatric hospitals. One priest died after being pushed beneath a bus, another succumbed in 1980 after a beating that followed denunciations in the Lithuanian Communist paper, Tiesa.

Beyond episodic violence, there is slow strangulation. The Government's Council for Religious Affairs sharply restricts seminary entrants and those admitted have often included K.G.B. stooges and people with psychiatric disorders. Night marauders have vandalized crosses in believers' gardens. Catholic children have been ridiculed in school and have been interrogated by the K.G.B.

If Catholics are singled out among Christian denominations, this may be because of a characteristic that has always aroused Russia's rulers — their loyalty to a foreign authority, the Pope. Pogroms and prejudice directed at "papists" in Protestant countries in an earlier age have never relented here.

Traditional enmities between Russians and Poles compounded suspicions of the Polish Pope. From the outset the Kremlin has oscillated between appreciation — of John Paul's support for disarmament, his criticism of capitalism, his embrace of the third world — and more visceral assessments. Sovietskaya Rossiya recently related approvingly that the Pope "stunned power brokers in the U.S.A." by attacking capitalism at the United Nations in 1979, and that "he further damaged his reputation in Washington" by withholding endorsement of the American-sponsored boycott of the 1980 Olympic games in Moscow. But a Communist Party doctrinal journal, Politicheskoye Samoobrazovanie, portrayed the "vice-regent of St. Peter" as a rigid anti-Communist who fomented the rise of Solidarity in Poland and "subversive activity" elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

As the controversy over the assassination attempt continues, the Kremlin faces a fresh challenge, the Pope's planned return to Poland in June. It succeeded in putting off a papal visit last year and only a few days ago, a Soviet television commentator demanded assurances that the visit would not be used for the same "political" purposes as the 1979 Polish tour, when tumultous crowds gathered wherever the Pope appeared.



Sygma/Gianni Giansanti
Pope John Paul II

INTERVIEW: Colombia's President Betancur

Bogota Begins Seeking 'New Partners' Among Nonaligned

At a time when the Reagan Administration seeks to line up Latin America against Communist penetration, President Belisário Betancur Cuartas of Colombia has disturbed Washington by his interest in joining the nonaligned nations and by his refusal to isolate Cuba and Nicaragua from the Organization of American States. This week in Nicaragua, Colombia's neutralism will be on display for the first time at a meeting of foreign ministers of the nonaligned nations. And Colombia's desire to mediate in Central America led to a meeting with Mexico, Venezuela and Panama over the weekend in Panama to discuss peace initiatives. Recently, Mr. Betancur responded to written questions by Warren Hoge, a New York Times correspondent in Latin America.

Question: What advantages do you see in Colombia's joining the movement of nonaligned nations?

Answer: Our proposal to join the nonaligned group is an affirmation of sovereignty and a search for new forums, for new partnerships with those who have problems similar to Colombia's. It's a question of not being a satellite of any one power center and of maintaining our own power of decision. Given the complexity of international relations with its effect on the internal life of nations, the minimum a government can do is to take advantage of all means of information and direct participation to be an active witness and not a dangerously passive one to everything that occurs at every moment in the world. That's what we are looking for. Finally, the wish to join is our sovereign act, and it is not something open to negotiation or consultation. President Reagan himself recognized that (during his visit to Colombia last month).

Q. Do you think you persuaded him of your view that isolating Cuba and Nicaragua is not sound policy?

A. It wasn't a matter of persuading him. It was rather a discussion of different points of view with a frankness that characterizes conversations between friends. It's worth pointing out that in the case of Cuba the point was that the inter-American system, and specifically the Organization of American States, should be as open a forum as the United Nations so that contradictions and antagonisms can be ventilated while areas of at least some agreement are being sought. During his visit here, I told President Reagan that Colombia respected the American vote in the United Nations against the expulsion of Israel without this necessarily implying our identifying with Israel. In the same sense there should be total Caribbean and Latin American representation in the O.A.S. without it implying an identification with Cuba.

Q. Do you not believe that Cuba is supporting the Colombian guerrilla groups whose principal objective is to overthrow "bourgeois" governments like your own?

A. The Government of my predecessor, President (Julio-César) Turbay, based on its own findings and the declarations of the then Cuban Ambassador in Colombia, decided to suspend relations with that country. If we look at the developments of the last few months, the situation that existed then could be changing. One has to hope, one can't be in too much of a hurry. It's a question of being careful and looking not only at the ideological context but also at the practical aspects of the problem.

Q. Will the recent amnesty end the guerrilla conflict?

A. When you speak of guerrillas you are touching on only one part of a more complex problem. For that reason we speak of "social disorder," of the objective and subjective elements of the subversion. The first — unemployment and the absence of minimum social guarantees — are the determinants of the second, that it to say, of violent actions whose purpose is to destabilize governments. Conscious of such factors, we have taken on the whole job, and for the same reason we don't speak only of the active subversion since the Government is not in political or military danger.

Q. Are you worried about the reaction of the military if some of the guerrillas who are getting out of prison now return to armed struggle?

A. The armed forces of Colombia have the same spirit of good will that is well regarded throughout the country with respect to the body of solutions represented by the amnesty and its complementary arrangements. The President, the Government and the armed forces are totally united. Stop worrying if you are thinking otherwise.

Q. What role do you want Colombia to play in Central America and the Caribbean?

A. Always bearing in kind the golden rules of nonin terference and self-determination and taking care not to be meddling foreigners, Colombia must make its voice heard and its good offices available so that the conflicts encounter resolutions. This is a clear and realistic position that affirms our identity as a sovereign nation and a friend of peace and development in the region. Specifically, I have read the declaration that our Nobel Prize winner in literature, Gabriel García Marquez, the other Nobel winners and the Prime Minister of Sweden made about Central America. I agree with their thesis about peace in the area and I offer the mediation of Colombia in pursuit of this noble and urgent objective. Colombia wants to be the mediator of peace.

Q. Do you still intend to invite all the presidents of the Americas to Cartagena next year and have you received any indication of their interest in coming?

A. Dialogue between presidents and high officials of various countries is always a creative thing. For that reason I proposed the meeting which will coincide with the bicentennial of the birth of the liberator Simon Bolivar. For that reason also, in my welcoming speech to President Reagan, I expressed to him our hope of getting together for this great purpose. The details will be forthcoming at the appropriate opportunity.



United Press International
President Reagan being greeted by President Belisário Betancur in Bogotá, Colombia last month.

The World

State Elections Chip Away at Gandhi Base

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's hold on Indian politics appeared badly shaken last week after voters in three states elected opposition-party governments and strengthened the drive to local autonomy against her centralizing rule.

For the first time since independence in 1947, Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party lost the southern states of Andrha Pradesh and Karnataka. In northeastern Tripura, Congress Party candidates failed to dislodge a Communist-led Government.

In Andrha Pradesh, Mrs. Gandhi could compare notes with Jimmy Carter; her party was beaten by a popular movie actor, Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao, whose seven-month-old party won more than 200 of the 294 seats in the state legislature on a program to root out corruption.



Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao campaigning in Andhra Pradesh state.

In many of his 300 films, Mr. Rao has portrayed the poor but honest patriot.

Adding to the bitterness of Mrs. Gandhi's defeat were the four seats won by a party headed by her estranged daughter-in-law, Maneka Gandhi, who lived at the Prime Minister's residence until ordered out for meeting with Congress Party rebels.

Karnataka threw out a Congress Party government in favor of an opposition coalition made up Congress defectors who quit last year, the Janata Party of former Prime Minister Morarji R. Desai, plus Communists; it also has support from right-wingers. The Congress Party still controls 15 of the 22 states and has a two-thirds majority in Parliament.

Bishops Stir Pot In Canada

The Roman Catholic Church, outspoken on worldly issues elsewhere in the hemisphere, has remained relatively quiet in Canada where about half the 24 million people are Catholic. But last week, with the country deep in recession and unemployment approaching 13 percent, a group of bishops raised a storm by denouncing Government priorities.

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has emphasized high inflation, now running at close to 10 percent, and low productivity as the economy's principal enemies. But citing the Gospel's preference for the poor and its emphasis on the dignity of work, the bishops said the basic need was jobs. Members of the business community told the bishops in effect to mind their own business and described them as dreamers with 16th-century ideas on morality and economics. But for the delighted labor movement, the bishops are "in touch with God," as Dennis McDermott, head of the Canadian Labor Congress, put it.

In the opinion of Bishop Remi de Roo of Victoria, British Columbia, it is time to end the "blah-blah." There is something wrong, he said, "in a society that reduces people to marginal status while it pursues profits."

Pasternak Makes 'Approved' List

"In the Great Soviet," Boris Pasternak once said, "the job of the poet is useless or vacant." Cracks like that and his novel, "Dr. Zhivago" — about an apolitical physician-poet preoccupied by love and religion — brought an avalanche of calumny down on one of Russia's greatest modern writers. The mud has been partially cleaned away with the official publication of a 500-page collection of Pasternak's prose. The collection's editor, Pasternak's son, Evgeny, said last week two volumes of his father's poetry and one volume of his correspondence will also be published soon.

"Zhivago" was rejected by Moscow 25 years ago and is still read in the Soviet Union only in smuggled Western editions. When the author won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1958, enraged Kremlin polemicists reviled him as a "literary whore" and "pig." He declined the prize, under pressure, and died in 1960. By the 1970's, he was officially rehabilitated — but only as a poet. As a prose writer, even his chief sponsor insisted, "Pasternak was a great child [who] did not understand politics."

Now, in a preface to the new book, "Paths in the Air," which had a print order of 100,000 copies and is being sold only in hard-currency shops patronized by foreigners and Soviet officials, Pasternak's prose is compared to "gold sand" filled with irresistibly attractive riches. The 500-page collection omits any mention of "Dr. Zhivago," however.

Danes Cast About For Better Deal

Kent Kirk, a Danish fisherman and member of the European Parliament, loaded his trawler with aquavit, beer and 12 reporters last week. Then, while they sipped and noted, he cast his nets in Britain's 12-mile coastal waters in search of sprat, a tasty small herring-like fish.

As expected, Her Majesty's Navy appeared on the scene and officers and fisheries inspectors came aboard and took the trawler into port. Captain Kirk, seeking to test the fishing restrictions before the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg, which can deliver decisions that are binding, first faced a British court where he was fined $51,200. The wealthy Dane had his check ready. "It's only money," he said.

The incident followed collapse of six years of Common Market negotiations on replacing temporary agreements that, until last weekend, governed the livelihoods of tens of thousands of fishermen. The Danish Parliament had refused to ratify new quotas giving Denmark a reduced, 21 percent, share of the main North Sea fish such as cod, haddock, whiting and herring. London thereupon imposed an absolute ban on Danish trawlers in the 12-mile zone.

Copenhagen advised its fishermen to stay out of troubled waters, but when Mr. Kirk set sail, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen promised the Government would support him and also bring its own suit before the European court. The minister with Common Market officials to try to reopen discussions about "a common fisheries policy without threatening each other with warships."

Polish Unions: Nothing Doing

Poland last week conceded that its new tame trade unions were off to a slow start. Big plants such as the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and the Huta Warszawa steel plant in the capital have had trouble attracting even a few hundred prospective members. The steel mill's temporary chairman said that if 10 or 15 percent joined in a year, "then that would be a success."

The offically acknowledged "mood of reserve" among workers may reflect the new unions' enforced links to the discredited Communist Party and their limited ability to strike (or, in key sectors such as hospitals, television and oil pipelines, even to organize). The unions will be forbidden to form regional, much less national, federations of the sort that gave independent Solidarity its punch before it was outlawed.

"Divisions have not been fully overcome and resentment has still not been eliminated," said the Government newspaper, Rzeczpospolita, commenting on worker attitudes. One reason is the military regime's imprisonment policy — 1,500 people are still locked up for political reasons, Jerzy Urban, the Government spokesman confirmed. They include seven top officials of Solidarity, and five leaders of the Committee for Social Self Defense (KOR), who face possible death penalties. Mr. Urban also confirmed the existence of a military training center that the Roman Catholic Church has said is a "penal colony" for former Solidarity union activists. But he said it would be disbanded this month.

Keeping alive Solidarity's close ties with the church, hundreds of former detainees attended a special mass. And in his first remarks since his nomination as Cardinal, the Primate, Archbishop Joseph Glemp, warned that church-state relations were "a false dialogue when one side says it will not concede one inch."

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Giniger

Begin and Sharon Under Heavy Pressure to Show Real Gains

As the Talks Stall, Israeli Doubts Deepen on the War

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — When Israelis talk about the war in Lebanon these days, they are not quite sure what tense to use. Was it, or is it still? The battles are over but the casualties continue to mount, slowly, inexorably. Scarcely a day passes now without a grenade, a mine, a shooting attack on Israeli troops, apparently by Palestinian guerrillas.

Since Sept. 29, when Israeli forces pulled out of West Beirut, 17 Israelis have been killed and more than 70 wounded in such attacks, in addition to 76 killed and 27 injured in the accidental gas explosion that destroyed an Israeli headquarters in Tyre. By last week, 455 Israelis had been killed and 2,460 wounded since the war began on June 6.

Returning soldiers say morale among the troops is dreadful. Few understand why they are still in Lebanon, including many who supported the initial invasion against the Palestine Liberation Organization. Many have returned on second tours and find the local people, once warmly welcoming, have turned sour. In the Shuf Mountains east of Beirut, the soldiers are often caught between feuding factions of Christians and Druse.

"It's not a honeymoon," one remarked last week in a telephone call to his wife in Jerusalem.

The bitterness felt in serving the ambitious political and military goals of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and Prime Minister Menachem Begin erupted into the open last month when Israel Television showed soldiers singing a parody of an Israeli nursery rhyme:

Airplane come down to us,
Fly us off to Lebanon,
We will fight for Sharon,
And return in a coffin.

Mr. Sharon lashed out at the television reporter and at the Israeli press. He urged the public to have patience.

Judging by the pace of negotiations aimed at an Israeli withdrawal, the patience will have to be enduring. After two weeks, the Israeli and Lebanese delegates, David Kimche and Antoine Fattal, have yet to agree on an agenda, and neither Syria nor the remaining P.L.O. fighters have indicated readiness to withdraw from Lebanese territory. Nor do internal conditions in Lebanon seem ripe for an Israeli pullout; that could leave a power vacuum in the south, where Palestinian military infiltrators might again appear. Last week, even amid heavy Israeli patrols, five portable rocket launchers were discovered aimed at Israeli border towns.

The risk, for Israel and especially for Mr. Sharon's uncertain political career, is that the war will have been fought for no more than a short respite from a Palestinian buildup.

Consequently, Messrs. Sharon and Begin are anxious to consolidate some highly visible gains before leaving. Even before the negotiations began, Mr. Sharon drew a bright picture of the bargaining situation, asserting that Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel had effectively agreed to the main Israeli principles governing future relations.

These included two aspects: One was a security zone in southern Lebanon with three Israeli-manned monitoring stations, Israeli reconnaissance flights and a ban on the deployment of heavy weapons, even by the Lebanese Army. The other requirement was a "normalized" bilateral relationship signaled by a signed document of nonbelligerency, an Israeli Foreign Ministry representative stationed in Beirut and keeping the border open to trade and tourism.

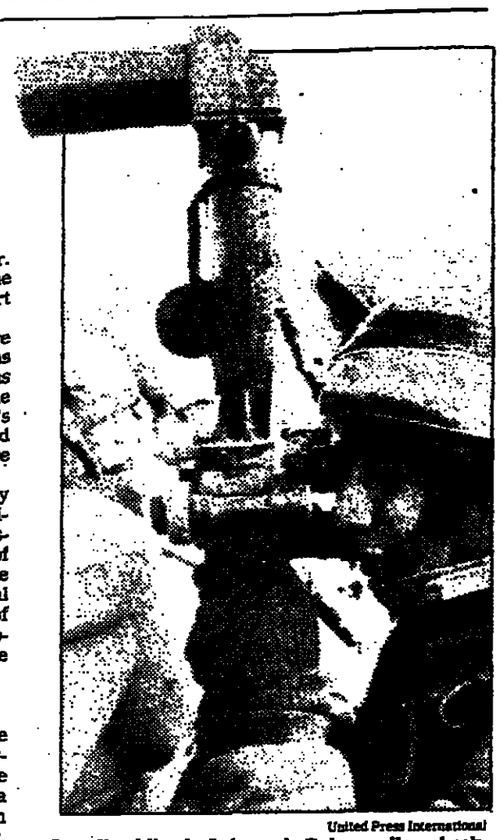
Out-Trading the Egyptians

The border is partially open now. Although the army considers Lebanon unsafe for Israeli tourists, Lebanese come into Israel regularly. Trade between the two countries reached $8 million a month in November and December, up from about $500,000 a month in June, July and August. The trade is mostly canned foods but recently expanded to include textiles, clothing, construction hardware, air conditioners and plastic goods. Israel has exported more to Lebanon in the last two months, trade officials said, than it exported to Egypt in an entire year.

President Gemayel's Government can be neither credited nor blamed for that kind of good neighborliness, since it has no control in the south, and traffic across the border is under the sole supervision of the Israelis. In the prologue to the talks, a Gemayel confidant reportedly suggested that the border be placed under United Nations control to relieve the Beirut authorities of the stigma of agreeing to the open arrangement.

This should have tipped Mr. Sharon off about the degree of resilience in the Beirut regime. Torn by factionalism, anxious to maintain good relations with Lebanese Moslems and with the Arab world, Mr. Gemayel seems to hesitate at every small step toward peaceful ties with Israel. The agenda argument has revolved around terminology: Israel wants it to list "normalization," Lebanon wants a more neutral term such as "the future of relations."

So far, no compromise has been found that will say what Israel wants without saying what Lebanon does not want.



United Press International

Israeli soldier in Lebanon's Bekaa valley checking Syrian troop positions through a periscope.

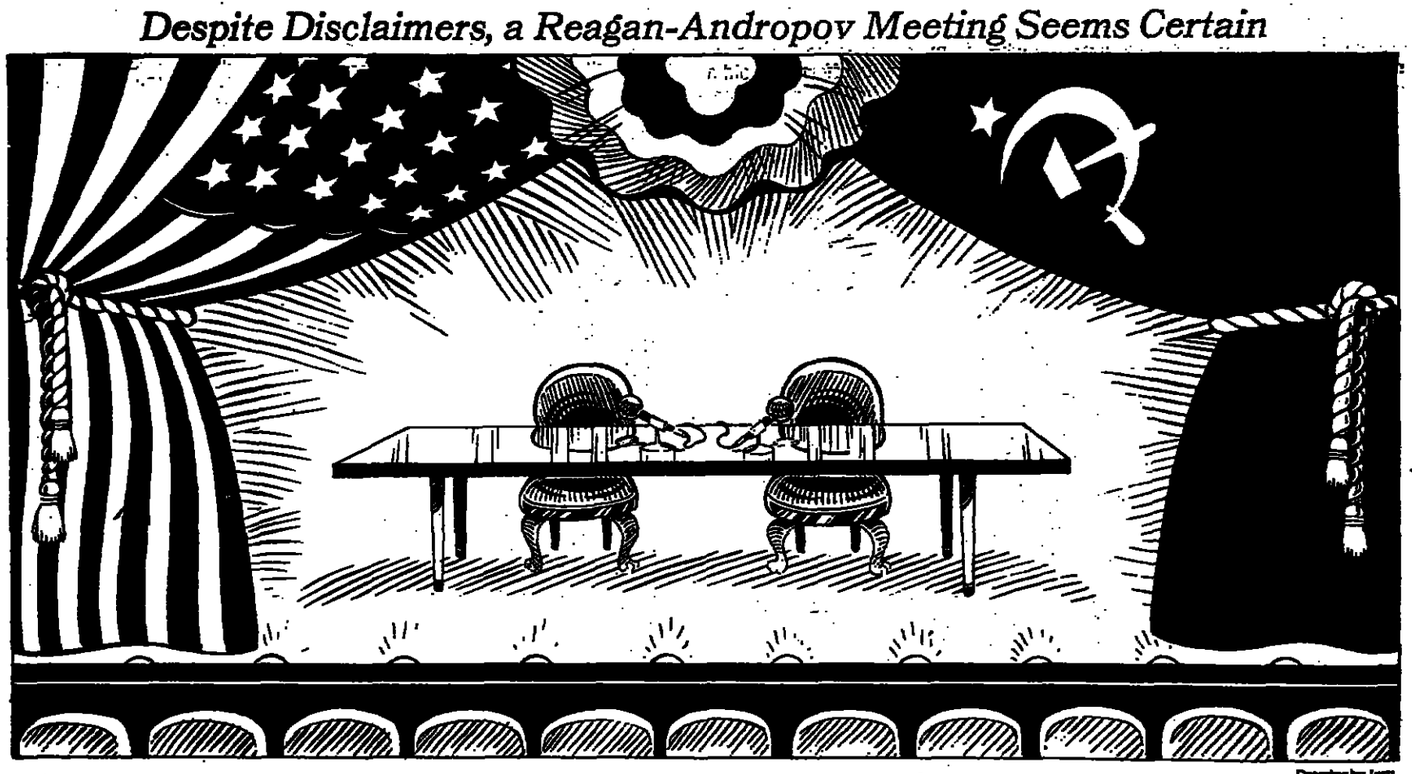
Assuming that the deadlock is eventually broken with the help of the United States, and that an Israeli-Lebanese accord is fashioned, the stage may be set for at least a partial, unilateral Israeli pullback even without mutual Syrian withdrawal.

Because of the restiveness in the army and the population, some officials suggest that Israel will be reluctant to give Syria a veto, in effect, over the departure of Israeli forces, and the Begin Government might settle for a skeleton force in the south, or a proxy — in the form of a pro-Israeli militia, such as the one now led by the Lebanese Christian, Maj. Saad Haddad.

The trick for Jerusalem will be to keep its options open. It has considerable leverage over the Gemayel Government, both by continuing its heavy arms support to the President's leading protector, the Phalangists, and by standing as a deterrent to any aggressive Syrian move.

But it has little experience and no expertise in playing politics in the Lebanese labyrinth.

Despite Disclaimers, a Reagan-Andropov Meeting Seems Certain



Drawing by Jery

On the Slippery Slopes of Summitry

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON — Ronald Reagan and Yuri V. Andropov are caught up in a diplomatic minuet that seems inevitably to be leading to a Soviet-American summit sometime in the next two years. Every American President since Franklin D. Roosevelt has had one or more meetings with a Soviet leader and there is no reason to suppose that Mr. Reagan will be any different.

Indeed, if Leonid I. Brezhnev, who died in November, had been in better health, there probably would have been by now a Reagan-Brezhnev meeting in New York or Europe. Despite assertions by both sides from time to time that the importance of such meetings is exaggerated and that they have to be "well-prepared," the simple fact is that Soviet-American summits are the Super Bowls of international diplomacy, and both sides love to play in them.

As part of the preparatory rites, American and Soviet leaders sometimes profess disdain for the meetings. President Dwight D. Eisenhower said in 1953 that "I would not go to a summit merely because of friendly words and plausible promises by the men in the Kremlin." Nevertheless, he was there in 1955 in Geneva. He invited Nikita S. Khrushchev to Washington in 1959, and would have gone to Moscow in 1960 except for the U-2 incident. Leonid I. Brezhnev resisted Richard M. Nixon's initial overtures because of the Vietnam war, and then (worried about Mr. Nixon's infatuation with Peking) embraced the idea so firmly that he and Nixon held consecutive meetings in 1972, 1973 and 1974. Yet, Mr. Brezhnev turned around in 1977 and rejected President Jimmy Carter's proposal for an early summit on the grounds that a new SALT agreement should be negotiated first. They eventually met in 1979 in Vienna.

Just now, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Andropov are playing a bit hard to get.The Soviet leader, in response to a question from the Hearst newspapers, said recently that while the Kremlin had no problem with summitry in principle, "good preparatory work is needed for the success of such a meeting." Mr. Reagan, who last year invited Mr. Brezhnev to New York for an "informal" discussion of world issues, told his news conference last week that he now wanted a "planned" summit. "I don't think you just say let's get together, sit around a table and then say 'well, what'll we talk about,'" he said. And his spokesman the next day said Soviet behavior in such places as Afghanistan and Poland would have to improve first.

Other Presidents and Soviet leaders have been less coy. John F. Kennedy rushed to Vienna to meet with Mr. Khrushchev within months of taking office. Lyndon B. Johnson virtually twisted Aleksei N. Kosygin's arm in 1967 to get him to meet him in Glassboro, N.J. One of Mr. Johnson's major regrets on leaving office was that the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 forced him to cancel a trip to Russia that October.

For an incumbent American President, nothing guarantees more television exposure and diversions from difficult political problems at home than the drama of a face-to-face meeting with the leader of the Soviet Union. But it does not always help. Mr. Nixon insisted on a final journey to Moscow even though Watergate was to cause his resignation a month later. Mr. Carter's meeting with Mr. Brezhnev did not prevent a precipitous drop in the President's popularity that led to the firing of several of his top aides a few weeks later.

For the Soviet leader, whether he be Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, or Andropov, the summit provides him easy access to the world's news media, and an aura of respectibiity in Western circles that temporarily eases the inferiority complex that permeates the Kremlin.

Is Summitry Worthwhile?

There have been voices of caution, to be sure, about summits. Gerard C. Smith, an arms control negotiator for Mr. Nixon, once wrote out 10 "don'ts" for any future President. The first was, "Don't lust for a summit." It only leads to giving away negotiating points in the rush to have some agreements to announce at the meeting, he said.

Despite the Olympian qualities of summits, it is questionable whether they really produce the results expected of them or indeed whether they are the best way to get results. Gerald R. Ford came away from Vladivostok in 1974 with guidelines for a new SALT agreement, but Henry A. Kissinger might have done just as well. Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev knew each other as well as any two leaders can hope to. Yet, in June 1973, when Mr. Brezhnev warned him in San Clemente that an explosion was likely in the Middle East later that year unless pressure was brought on Israel, Mr. Nixon paid no attention.

The drawbacks notwithstanding, the preponderence of opinion right now seems to be in favor of the spectacle of another summit. Mr. Nixon has publicly called for an early Reagan-Andropov "get-together." Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was Mr. Carter's national security adviser, said last month that the two sides should agree on annual summits ahead of time, to give them a more routine quality that would lower expectations.

If Mr. Andropov and Mr. Reagan were to meet anytime soon, it is improbable that any major agreements would emerge, although it would give each leader a better understanding of the other's personality. But there would likely be no spontaneity to the session; Mr. Reagan has struck some as shaky on international issues and Mr. Andropov, whose powers seem far from absolute in the Kremlin, might not be free to depart from a collective Soviet wisdom.

Given those limitations, what seems more likely is a series of preliminary contacts, managed for the most part by Mr. Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko that could produce a summit late this year or early next, in time for any Reagan re-election campaign. By then, the probability of any arms control agreements would be easier to forecast. If there were to be any accords announced at the summit, they would most probably concern arms.

The Economy

הכל מן הראשון

A Dramatic Change for the I.M.F.

Pressed by a world financial crisis, de Larosière has turned the fund into an activist central banker.

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON

IN an oak-paneled board room 12 stories above Pennsylvania Avenue, a wiry, grave-looking Frenchman named Jacques de Larosière, with only the merest wisp of an accent in English, gently but firmly called the meeting to order.

It was the day before the day before Christmas and the executive directors of the International Monetary Fund were about to approve a $3.9 billion loan to Mexico, an emergency bailout arranged after three months of painstaking negotiations among the fund's experts, two Mexican presidents, the finance ministers of a dozen Western nations and several hundred private bankers.

There have been dozens of such meetings in recent years to approve the I.M.F.'s $21 billion of outstanding loans. But the Christmas session marked an historic change. The fund, created near the end of World War II to encourage trade and help a few industrial nations stabilize their currencies, had been forced by Mexico's near-bankruptcy — and subsequent severe strains in Argentina and Brazil — into a new, activist role, designed to hold together a world financial system under enormous stress.

Some are already describing the fund as the world's bank of last resort, the institution that will stand behind third-world countries and their bankers trying to guarantee the good faith of both borrower and lender.

"Looking back from the year 2000," said Richard N. Cooper, a Harvard professor and former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, "this period may be recorded as a turning point in the creating of a true world central bank." Added Robert Solomon, former adviser to the Federal Reserve Board: "The I.M.F. has sprung into action, with Mr. de Larosière playing a role as a world statesman as well as a world central banker."

For 53-year-old Mr. de Larosière, a rather publicity-shy former director of the French Treasury, the Mexican deal was a triumph. In the negotiations, the fund's silver-haired managing director struggled like a dealer in a card game to keep the players at the table. He warned private banks that had already lent billions to Mexico that unless they came up with more, they might find themselves left with nothing at all. He also had to urge the Mexicans not to quit the game. Many feared in the fall of 1982 that Mexico would simply refuse to make payments on its $85 billion foreign debt, thereby causing an even worse international financial crisis.

The tactic has worked with Mexico, so far. But Mr. de Larosière's task is not over. A package for Argentina, following the Mexican pattern, was agreed to in the last days of December. A package for Brazil is almost complete. Lined up already for help from the fund — which has loans out now to 33 hard-pressed countries — are Chile, the Philippines and Portugal. And if the worldwide recession does not soon lift, the queue could grow.

Help from the fund comes with strings attached — too many, some say. Mexico, like most other borrowers, has had to "adjust" its domestic economic policy in return for more borrowings. The Government agreed to adjust exchange rates, cut back subsidies for basic food items (like beans and corn tortillas) and reduce purchasing power — all a prelude to slower growth. For some in Washington, the imposition of such austerity policies on the economies of an already-weakened third world has created concern. Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan are worried that too much I.M.F.-induced austerity could bring about even sharper contractions in world economic activity.

Debtor countries "are being told one thing by the I.M.F.," said Secretary Regan recently, "to import less and export more. How can the whole world do this simultaneously and still maintain a trading system?"

Earlier, Secretary Shultz criticized the proliferation of "austerity-type programs" throughout the world and urged that economic policies in 1983 be aimed at achieving expansion.

The fund denies that its adjustment policies are a threat to growth. Mr. de Larosière points with some satisfaction to the reduced deficit in the balance of payments of the developing countries that is expected this year, claiming that "a significant adjustment" has taken place in the economic prospects of such nations.

"There is a gross misunderstanding of our policies," said one high official at the fund. "We are not imposing austerity. We are providing additional resources to limit the decline in economic activity that is threatened by financial collapse." Even in Mexico, he points out, there will be some nominal growth this year, though less than the 6 percent to 8 percent range of earlier years. And imports are projected to rise by about 2 percent.

Ironically, the fund has also been attacked from the other side, by those who think that in its effort to avoid a breakdown in the international financial system it has agreed to lend money willy-nilly to nations already heavily burdened with debt. Though the fund insists that its lending policies have not changed of late, one official conceded that a recent deal was worked out faster than usual because of pressure from the Reagan Administration, suggesting that the adjustments imposed on the borrower were somewhat less draconian than they might have been in an earlier era.

Despite its worries about growth, the Administration seems generally pleased with Mr. de Larosière's initiatives. The United States is expected to recommend a second five-year term for Mr. de Larosière when his current term expires at midyear.

Strong support for the director's new activism has come from the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Paul A. Volcker, who has encouraged bankers to cooperate in the effort to finance third-world countries through this difficult period. He has brushed aside some regulatory obstacles that might have inhibited the banks. New loans to nations working out deals with the I.M.F. will not be classified as substandard, doubtful or losses — all categories that could call for extra reserve requirements for the banks. "Lending banks, working effectively together to meet a clearly justified transitional need, should be able to provide the necessary margin of finance," Mr. Volcker said.

Despite such encouragement, however, the hundreds of banks with loans out to the weak countries of the world have not all been eager to ante up more money. Mr. de Larosière had to "to knock heads together," as one official phrased it, to get the Mexican package wrapped up last month.

In part he could draw on the fund's long history as a provider of seed money for borrower nations. Its loans have not been made in isolation, but rather as a way to attract far greater funding from other sources, funding inspired in part by the I.M.F.'s ability to pursuade debtor nations to take measures to strengthen their economies so that eventually they might be able to repay the loans.

> 'The I.M.F. is not bailing out the banks, it's really bailing them in.'

But in today's unusually shaky world economy, many banks, particularly small and medium-sized ones, have not been eager to follow where the I.M.F. leads. This has forced Mr. de Larosière, a consummate diplomat, to cajole, prod and do whatever else he could to pull them along. In the case of Mexico — and in a more recent package nailed down for Argentina and one being prepared for Brazil — he went nose to nose with the commercial banks and industrial countries involved, insisting that they put up money to buy more time for the countries' adjustment programs to work or risk the loss of all that they had put up before if the borrowers were forced into default.

"Banks will have to continue to increase their exposures in the developing countries — albeit at a more modest pace than in the past — if widespread debt financing problems are to be avoided," said the I.M.F. chief.

The message was first delivered at a meeting in New York in late November where Mr. de Larosière met a delegation representing 1,400 commercial banks with loans out to Mexico. Before one additional cent would be put up by the I.M.F., he said, the private banks would have to roll over $20 billion of Mexican credits maturing between August 1982 and the end of 1984 and also an additional $5 billion in fresh loans. The same principle, with different numbers attached, was later applied to Argentina and Brazil.

Some who attended the New York meeting describe it as a calm, business-like affair. "It was a dialogue," said one participant. "All of the banks must be involved in this process," said Mr. de Larosière. "But a lot of them were looking the other way," said one commercial banker. "There was an awful lot of peer pressure," another banker commented.

The large multinational banks endorsed the I.M.F.'s package first and smaller regional banks jumped aboard second — or most of them did.

So on Dec. 23, Mr. de Larosière told his directors that he could recommend doling out more international resources to Mexico because of assurances not only from the banks but also from a group of richer countries that they would join in the effort to help the Latin country.

The I.M.F. loan of $3.9 billion had triggered $5 billion of new commercial bank credits for Mexico and $2 billion of industrial government trade credits. Mexico got a reprieve, time to keep its creditors at bay and to rebuild its economy. And Mr. de Larosière got a financial package that he thought would assure the success of the I.M.F. program in 1983.

There are those who contend that what he actually achieved in the Mexican instance was a bailout for banks that had lent more money than was wise to lend or for Mexico to borrow. The charge is rejected by the fund's deputy managing director, William B. Dale. "The I.M.F. is not bailing out the banks," he said, "it's really bailing them in."

For their part, the big banks seem pleased with the fund's initiatives. "The I.M.F. sensed a vacuum and properly stepped into it," commented Irwin L. Kellner, senior vice president and chief economist of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company. "We are not taken aback by what the I.M.F. is doing. Whatever happens there is a spirit of cooperation that will get this issue back on the back burner where it belongs."

"It was clear that somebody had to step in and play a leadership role," said Walter B. Wriston, chairman of Citicorp. "We have the best managing director since Per Jacobbson."

The sixth director the fund has had since its founding in 1944, Mr. de Larosière works in a two-story, cherry wood-paneled office down the hall from the board room in the agency's elegant, modern headquarters building. By his desk is a computer terminal, which he uses himself to juggle data in making decisions on fund loans. Nearby is a a bronze bust of Lord Keynes, the British economist who was one of the founding fathers of the I.M.F. and who recognized the need for a world central bank in 1942, when world war was still a preoccupation of most people.

Mr. de Larosière has won strong support abroad. Robin Leigh-Pemberton, the departing chairman of Britain's National Westminster Bank who will become the next Governor of the Bank of England, praised the "tripartite effort" among the governments of major countries, commercial banks and the fund. Although "a degree of pressure" may still have to be applied to commercial banks, he said, the debt crisis may well be over.

West Germany's Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, said that commercial bankers could safely lend to developing countries because the I.M.F. would soon have the resources to do its share.

Finance ministers from the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan met early last December in Frankfurt to coordinate positions on the overall debt situation and to end a dispute over the amount by which I.M.F. resources should be increased to make way for major loan extensions during the sticky recession.

They agreed that the pool of currencies and special drawing rights that members put up as a lending base for their financially strapped brethren should increase by about 50 percent, to $100 billion (much of it in minor currencies that are not useful for lending), and that an additional $15 billion to $20 billion should become available under an arrangement among richer countries known as the General Arrangements to Borrow. Further action will be necessary this year to put these agreements into effect so that actual borrowings can begin.

In the meantime, I.M.F. officials are worried. Some continue to press — as they have for years — for the fund to raise money by borrowing itself in international money markets (as its sister agency, the World Bank, has done for years). The fund's executive board has had a proposal to pursue this course on the table since the late 1970's, but for now it is giving top priority to increasing members' quotas to raise money. After that, said one official, the I.M.F. may well make its first move into the market.

After present and immediately contemplated loan commitments, officials say, there will be only $26 billion of lendable currencies left in the fund's kitty. This is barely enough to cover that portion of the fund that members count as reserves and are entitled to withdraw on just two days' notice. "I am hopeful that an early agreement on the quota review can be concluded," said Mr. de Larosière, "and we will be working toward that end in the coming months."

Last Wednesday, the director and a mission left for Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to ask that country to lend the fund roughly $5 billion, on top of $10 billion already provided over the last two years.

There are still worries that all the efforts of the I.M.F. can only paper over the crisis temporarily. This concern reflects the belief — shared by the fund itself — that what has really gone wrong in the third world can be traced to the weak world economy rather than to an overextension of credit by greedy commercial bankers or extravagant borrowing by imprudent leaders of developing nations. If so, the only way to bring the borrower nations back to health is to restore the world economy to growth.

Because of balance of payments constraints forced on so much of the world, such growth, most economists agree, must come from the industrial countries and chiefly from the United States.

The Lendable Funds of the I.M.F.

Resources Owned by the I.M.F., from members' quotas		
Major Currencies	$19.8 billion	Currencies, such as U.S. dollars, British pounds and yen, commonly used in large international financings, for loans to any qualified member.
Special Drawing Rights (S.D.R.'s)	5.0 billion	The S.D.R., which is a composite form of money, is used for intergovernmental transactions. The I.M.F. uses these assets for loans to any qualified member.
Resources Borrowed by the I.M.F.*		
Supplementary Financing Facility	2.6 billion	Line of credit established in 1977 by oil-producing and industrial nations for loans to any qualified member.
Enlarged Access Policy	8.5 billion	Line of credit established in 1981 by oil-producing and industrial nations for loans to any qualified member.
General Arrangements to Borrow	6.3 billion	Special fund established by group of 10 industrial nations and available only to them.
Total:	$42.2 billion	
Possible New Funds for 1983		
Major Currencies and S.D.R.'s	$16.5 billion	The I.M.F. is seeking a 50 percent increase in membership quotas. The increase would have to be approved by all members and ratified by their governments.
Enlarged Access Policy	5.0 billion	Saudi Arabia may provide additional lendable funds for this facility.
General Arrangements to Borrow	15.0 billion to 20.0 billion	The industrial nations may increase their contributions and make the funds available to any qualified member.
Total:	$36.5 billion to 41.5 billion	

*Loans from these resources carry a higher interest rate than loans from the I.M.F.'s own funds.

Note: The I.M.F. also holds 100 million ounces of gold, with a market value of $45.4 billion. But the gold is not readily available since it may only be sold with the approval of 85 percent of the members of the I.M.F. executive board.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Phillips Seeking General American

Phillips Petroleum plans to buy the General American Oil Company of Texas for nearly $1.2 billion. As part of the surprise deal, the Mesa Petroleum Company agreed to withdraw its own offer, and General American agreed to pay Mesa $15 million for expenses incurred in its tender offer.

Unemployment edged up to 10.8 percent in December from a recalculated November figure of 10.7 percent.

The 98th Congress convened for a session that leaders expected to be dominated by economic issues, especially proposed spending cuts, new taxes, job bills, adjustments in Social Security and a possible restructuring of Medicare benefits.

A scaled-down forecast of 1.4 percent economic growth this year over 1982 was accepted by President Reagan, Administration officials said. In September, the Administration had forecasted growth of 3.1 percent.

A rule that prevented railroads from moving into the commercial trucking business was dropped by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The barrier had been in effect 48 years.

The nation's money supply rose $500 million, to $478.4 billion, for the week ending Dec. 29.

The Nomination of Mrs. Dole

President Reagan nominated Elizabeth Dole (right) to replace Drew Lewis as Secretary of Transportation. If confirmed by the Senate, as expected, she would become the first woman to head a Cabinet agency in the Reagan Administration. Mrs. Dole, a White House liaison with business and other groups, needs little introduction to business circles. From 1973 to 1979 she was a member of the Federal Trade Commission and before that, executive director of the President's Commission on Consumer Interests. It was while lobbying for one consumer issue that she met her future husband, Senator Bob Dole.



United Press International

The Dow rose to 1076.07 Friday, setting a record for the third time in 10 days. The day before, the Dow soared 26.03 points. Trading on Thursday and Friday was the heaviest in two months. For the week, the Dow was up 29.53 points.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation said it has pumped almost $175 million into 15 troubled savings banks that have shown heavy losses as a result of high interest rates. Most of the banks are in New York City.

The Federal Reserve approved a request by the BankAmerica Corporation to acquire Charles Schwab & Company, the nation's largest discount brokerage. The merger would be the first between a bank holding company and a brokerage house.

Banks began offering checking accounts free of interest rate ceilings, but initial customer response was light.

U.S. retailers had modest sales rises in December, over the comparable 1981 selling period, disappointing merchants who had hoped for a more robust Christmas season.

The nation's Big Three auto makers closed out 1982 with a 28.5 percent sales rise in the last 10 days of December, compared to the similar 1981 period. For the year, car sales totaled only 7.98 million — the weakest performance since 1963.

American Bell opened for business. The new subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, created to market telephone equipment and computerized services, is expected by many to open a new era of competition in the telephone business.

The Plessey Company, a leading British electronics concern, said it would buy up to 30 percent of Scientific-Atlanta Inc., a major manufacturer of cable television and satellite equipment, as part of an arrangement that will lead to broad cooperation between the two companies.

A former Fed economist who left to work for E. F. Hutton was charged with illegally tapping the Fed's computer to obtain secret data about the nation's money supply.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS
WEEK ENDED JANUARY 7, 1983
(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
ATT	8,296,500	64¼	+ 5⅛
Exxon	4,815,400	30⅜	+ ⅝
Alcoa	4,797,700	33⅛	+ 2⅛
Schlmb	4,738,500	50½	+ 3⅛
IBM	4,711,400	96⅝	+ ⅜
Chryslr	3,832,200	16½	− 1⅛
Amax	3,840,900	24⅝	+ 2⅛
Mattel	3,590,300	14⅜	− 2
Aetn Lf	3,244,700	36⅜	+ ⅛
Wm Cm	3,195,100	31⅝	− 1⅞
Tandy	3,186,200	48⅜	− 2⅝
Mesa O	3,128,700	1⅞	− ⅛
Cticrp	3,122,300	35½	+ 3
Supr Oil	3,057,100	29¾	+ 1
Sears	3,047,100	29¼	− ⅛

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	1,536	1,158
Declines	463	771
Total Issues	2,154	2,168
New Highs	322	181
New Lows	4	13

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	486,740,440	486,740,440
Same Per. 1982	221,240,262	221,240,262

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Net Change
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	98.85	91.19	96.00	+2.98
Transp	76.35	71.31	75.77	+2.14
Utils	45.32	43.43	45.32	+1.85
Finance	86.96	83.59	86.67	+1.67
Composite	84.27	79.65	83.67	+2.84

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	165.8	153.8	162.9	+5.31
20 Transp	25.8	23.2	25.3	+1.15
40 Utils	62.4	59.8	61.9	+1.50
40 Financial	17.0	16.1	16.8	+0.23
500 Stocks	147.6	137.3	145.1	+4.54

Dow Jones

30 Indust	1091.3	1020.2	1076.0	+29.53
20 Transp	469.1	430.0	460.3	+11.99
15 Utils	125.3	118.7	124.4	+ 5.03
65 Comb	427.4	398.2	421.2	+12.12

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS
(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Dome P	3,216,400	5/16	+ 1/16
Wang B	3,015,900	32⅛	+ 3⅛
Inst Sy	2,447,900	2⅝	+ ⅛
Mamdq	2,094,700	11/16	+ 1/16
Conq	1,682,400	2⅛	+ ⅛
Gld Fld	1,289,000	2	+ ⅛
Atls Cal	1,213,900	3⅜	+ 1⅛
Rangr O	903,700	7¼	+ 1⅛
Chmp H	787,000	5½	+ ¼
Gif Cd	766,000	13⅜	+ 1⅝

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	644	448
Declines	193	352
Total Issues	926	925
New Highs	124	77
New Lows	5	14

VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	51,939,975	51,939,975
Same Per. 1982	20,297,155	20,297,155

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher

A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOPPING, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor

MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor

CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor

JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager
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JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

The Failing Presidency

The stench of failure hangs over Ronald Reagan's White House. The people know it, judging by the opinion polls. Corporate titans know it and whisper disenchantment with a fellow conservative. Washington knows it when an Administration official calls the budgeting process "an unmitigated outrage" and when Mr. Reagan's closest friend in the Senate pronounces the President "as very close to set in concrete."

Mr. Reagan's loss of authority only halfway through his term should alarm all Americans. The economic nostrums he brought to office have not had the predicted effect. Only by recognizing his errors will he find better ideas. To rationalize the failure so far, or to blame his predecessors, the media and Congress, is to condemn the nation to two more years of destructive confusion.

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By his own reckoning, Mr. Reagan became President for one basic reason: to restore the morale and power of America. By his own analysis, that meant above all "the rejuvenation of our economy" so that America could regain industrial strength, put all its people to work and defend its interests around the world.

But the economy totters, dragging down the West and eroding American influence everywhere. An ill-planned military buildup, which the recovery was to have made painless, now threatens to aggravate already huge deficits in future years. Instead of forcing the Russians to choose between guns and butter, Mr. Reagan is forcing that choice upon Americans. By putting missiles ahead of jobs and allowing the military to appear the enemy of prosperity, he is sapping more of America's strength than the Russians ever could.

This central failure should overshadow all partisan or philosophical contests. The Republican Administration has been cavalier about the environment, indifferent about civil rights, insensitive to the poor. Too many Democrats have been demagogic about trade restrictions and Social Security. But all factions share an obligation to force the President to lead in devising a new and credible plan for recovery.

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Between the lines of his recent utterances, Mr. Reagan seems to concede some major misjudgments. The huge tax cut that he sold as a "supply-side" stimulus to investment is now necessary to "increase consumption," he says. The deficits he vowed to erase by 1983, then 1984, are now acknowledged to be growing and even desirable in the recessionary short run. And the Pentagon's "minimum essential" budget becomes daily more pliable.

What is lacking is any clear sense of direction. And when frustrated members of Congress advocate a mere "freeze" on spending, they only emulate Mr. Reagan's abdication and flight from hard choices.

How much deficit-spending does the President think is needed to assure economic growth in the months ahead? How would he then reduce the "intolerable" future deficits to protect recovery? The customary politics can help him choose among a combination of cuts in Social Security and military spending and increased taxation. But only a President can lead in defining a strategy. Only a leader can succeed as President.

Russian Roulette, Global Style

Cosmos 1402, a Soviet radar satellite powered by 100 pounds of uranium, is apparently out of control and about to re-enter the atmosphere. For the second time in four years, the world awaits the radioactive debris from a failed Soviet space spy. One failure is bad luck, two is bad management.

Russian nuclear satellites are supposed to be boosted into higher orbit at the end of their useful lives to allow the radioactivity more time to decay. When the booster rocket of Cosmos 954 failed, radioactive remnants were littered over northwest Canada in January 1979.

In one sense, the Russian fallback provisions were successful: the nuclear fuel and most of the reactor burned up during re-entry, and no one was harmed. But thousands of bits of radioactive material reached ground, one the size of a five-gallon drum, and Canada spent $14 million to find and dispose of the debris. The Russians coughed up only half the $6 million they were billed.

International reaction was flabby. President Carter offered to forego putting nuclear reactors into orbit if the Soviet Union would do likewise. The offer was painless, since the United States has no nuclear satellites. The Russians did not pursue the invitation, and Mr. Carter was persuaded not to renew it; nuclear reactors may be needed to power the beam weapons and other gadgetry advocated by some military planners.

In fact, Mr. Carter's proposal has considerable merit. The United States does not require nuclear reactors to run its satellites because adequate power can be obtained from solar panels or radioactive isotopes. The isotopes are not part of a nuclear reactor; their heat is turned directly into electricity. After a rocket failure in 1964 which contaminated the upper atmosphere with several thousand curies of plutonium, the isotope packages were encapsulated to allow safe recovery in event of return to earth.

Military planners have renewed their interest in nuclear-powered satellites and a new type of space reactor is under study. But once again, it seems to be a military luxury, not necessity. A ban on reactors in earth orbit would be to the United States' present gain but probably to both sides' future advantage.

As for the present danger, the Soviets insist that the risk of damage is minuscule. Indeed, even if the active part of the reactor is not burned up during re-entry, the chances of radioactive debris hitting a populated area are small. But even a minuscule hazard is unacceptable; those at risk, with the possible exception of Soviet citizens, receive no benefit.

The Soviet Union is playing Russian roulette with the world. That the odds are long is no excuse for exposing others to some danger. The rain may fall on the just and the unjust alike, but no one should have to expect being showered with radioactive space junk from a bungled military spy mission.

A National New Yorker

It is hard to grasp the force of the late Ben Rosenthal from his laconic account of himself in the Congressional Directory. He listed his New York education, law practice and family and his 10 re-elections to the House. The true importance of this wry, sometimes abrasive but always dedicated and effective legislator was made far clearer by the presence at his funeral of 75 obviously moved colleagues from every part of the nation.

The delegation that attended Ben Rosenthal at the end testified to his crucial influence in melding New York's Congressional delegation into an effective unit, serving priorities that he articulated so well. It paid tribute to his pioneering opinions on the importance of consumer protection and the unwisdom of the Vietnam war.

Representative Rosenthal did not rely on facile slogans to make his mark. He won respect by the seriousness of his views and by bringing something special even to less glamorous committees — by his determination to be a national and not only a New York representative. And so he was.

Topics

Unseasonable

No Time Out

How many Real Men does it take to change a light bulb? None, it is said: Real Men aren't afraid of the dark. Perhaps not, at least not if the TV stays on — and if football stays on the screen. If the new United States Football League has its way, that will be all year round.

The National Football League's Super Bowl will be played on Jan. 30. The new league will start its training camps the very next day, and its formal season would reach from March through June, just before the N.F.L. starts *its* training camps.

Doesn't the U.S.F.L. season run straight into the basketball, hockey and baseball seasons? Of course, but so what? None of them get great national TV ratings in those months, says the new league's president. "The second quarter of the year is traditionally very good for male demographics. With the weather bad, you might get women to watch football, too."

Somehow, we doubt it, and find ourselves hoping that men won't either. You don't have to be a quiche eater to want to see the seasons change. You can like football and still be glad there's an off-season to whet the appetite for its reappearance. What the male, and female, demographics around here suggest is that there can be way too much of a good thing. When football season ends, we'll be content to wait till next year.

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Non-PACs

We were looking through the Washington, D.C., phone book the other day for the number of the Committee for Something-or-Other. We didn't find the one we were looking for, but found 41 others. Some have cosmic objectives, like the Committee for the Future of America and, even broader, the Committee for the Future. Others are precise: the Committee for 806-30 and 807 (two tariff regulations) and the Committee to Re-Elect Sam.

Sam who? We called. A snappish voice told us she'd never heard of Sam. Following a hunch, we rang up the Capitol and asked for our friend Sam Gejdenson, a Congressman from Connecticut whose last name is such a jawbreaker that he just leaves it off his campaign posters. Sure enough, he was the Sam. The number, which belongs to a supporter, had been used to organize a fund-raiser and, yes, he was re-elected.

Then we came upon the Committee for President Ford. This was the current phone book, mind you, published six years after Gerald Ford last ran for office. Was his election committee still in business? Curious, we dialed. This time we got a cheerful voice. No, she laughed, the number belongs to a law office now. Does she get many calls for Mr. Ford? Not many these days, but it did get a little busy back in 1980 when there was a chance that he might challenge Ronald Reagan.

For all the agitation about political action committees, it was nice to find two devoted to political inaction.

Letters

If Extraterrestrials Do Exist: Not to Worry

To the Editor:

At a time when a serious radio search for extraterrestrial intelligence (SETI) is being advocated by a distinguished group of 70 scientists from 13 nations, including seven Nobel laureates (news story Oct. 22), and when a small amount of money has finally been authorized for the United States component of such a search (news story Dec. 21), it is surprising to find The Times advocating "fear of the dark" of space ("Beware of the Cow in E.T.'s Barn," editorial Dec. 28). It happens that we live in this dark.

We do not know the motives of extraterrestrial civilizations, should they exist. But some of the anxieties expressed in your editorial are unwarranted:

Extraterrestrial "cannibalism."

It is implicit in the evolutionary process that extraterrestrial carnivores are unlikely to find the sequences of amino acids in human proteins especially tasty. Even if human beings were a famous interstellar delicacy, the freightage would be prohibitively high; it would be much cheaper to synthesize proteins in the amino acid sequences favored by extraterrestrial gastronomes than to muster a luncheon expedition to Earth.

We are unlikely to understand a message from another civilization.

On the contrary, because the message is transmitted by radio, the transmitting and receiving civilizations will have at least radiophysics, radioastronomy and radiotechnology in common.

Because the laws of nature are the same everywhere, science itself should provide a means of communication even between beings that are physiologically very different. I suspect that the decrypting of the message, if we are so fortunate as to receive one, will be much simpler than its acquisition.

It would be "demoralizing" to learn that our science is "medieval."

By the standards of the next few centuries, at least some of our present science will of course be considered



medieval, provided we are not so foolish as to destroy our civilization. To go beyond present science is one of the goals of science.

Students are not commonly plunged into fits of despair on turning the pages of a textbook and discovering that there is some further topic, known to the author but not yet to the student. Usually, the student assimilates the new knowledge and, following an ancient human tradition, continues to turn the pages.

History records the depredations ruthlessly visited by slightly more advanced civilizations on slightly less advanced ones.

Certainly. However, all major radioastronomical SETI programs are intended to listen, not to transmit. Those who worry about the supposed dire consequences of extraterrestrials' learning of putative intelligence on the planet Earth might consider directing their concern to the organizations that are transmitting powerful signals into space — military radar facilities and commercial television networks.

One wonders what the extraterrestrials will make of us if these are the characteristic signs of human intelligence that are casually and continuously broadcast at the speed of light to our neighbors in the dark of space.

CARL SAGAN
Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences, Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y., Jan. 2, 1983

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To the Editor:

Although your concerns about the dangers of possible contact with alien civilizations seem prudent, they also betray a certain naïveté regarding the physical scale involved.

Even if our E.T. should have his home around the nearest star, communications to Earth would not be what you would call lively: it would take over eight and a half years to get a reply. As for "extragalactic tigers," by the time the nearest of our galactic neighbors became aware of our presence and got here with an expedition, about half a million years will have passed on Earth. That long ago, our ancestors were just beginning to learn the technology of making flint weapons.

ALAN FORD
New York, Dec. 29, 1982

Deterrent to a Refueling of Inflation

To the Editor:

In a recent speech in Mayfield, Ky., Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker made this statement on future inflation possibilities: "Business must restrain prices, and workers must not grab for the last thing they can get on the bargaining table."

That is a pitch for voluntary controls. Now, Mr. Volcker knows as well as anybody that businessmen *will* not restrain prices, and that labor *will* grab for everything it can get in a period of prosperity. There are no such things as voluntary restraints. If there are to be any restraints, they will have to come from the Government.

Realistically, then, why not set up a system of standby controls while there is no emergency? They can be devised scientifically in a stress-free atmosphere where inequitable regulations can be avoided. Business and labor will know in advance what they will be expected to do, and they will know the penalties — which should be stiff — for attempting to indulge in excesses.

The economy would suffer far less damage from deterrent standby controls than from after-the-fact prosecution of emergency or voluntary controls.

VICTOR SILBER
Lake Worth, Fla., Jan. 5, 1983

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Slimmed Expectations

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 4 "New York Day by Day" column notes a New Year's toast, "May we all get what we want," and a response to it, "If we only could decide what it is."

Other responses might fit as well: "Enjoy the little you have, while the fool is hunting more" (Spanish proverb); "Many toil hard to earn a loaf when a slice is sufficient" (Dutch); "Enough is enough, and too much spoils" (Italian), or "More tears are shed over prayers answered than over those unanswered" (country of origin unknown).

WILLIAM OLEKSAK
New York, Jan. 4, 1983

Bishops, Nuclear Arms And the Holocaust

To the Editor:

Where were the Catholic anti-nuclear bishops when the Six Million were being killed? wonders Bruno Bettelheim ("A Symposium: The Bishops and the Arms Race," Week in Review Dec. 26).

An unexpected question — and I have no answer. All I know is that they were not bishops 40 years ago. Is Bettelheim asking about the bishops of 40 years ago? Again, all I can say certainly is that they are bishops no longer.

Where was anybody who today speaks of morality? I myself was on a ship in the Atlantic, and I was about 18. I think I was 22 when I learned of the Holocaust. Whoever knew about it, whoever ordered it, whoever carried it out is now dead or almost dead.

None of us should let it slip out of memory, but are we, who were not there to stop it or even protest it, expected now to refrain guiltily from protesting new wrongs? Is that to be a permanent punishment, post facto and in absentia? Apparently it is Bruno Bettelheim's sentence upon the bishops.

I went to Dachau long ago, and, while walking numbly in that silent place where only the little alarms of birds seemed innocent, I was caught suddenly by a spasm of remorse and found myself mumbling into the fence, "None but a Jew may ever speak again." Why did I want to limit and confine the moral voice? For whose sake? For what purpose?

Even today — though I hope not often today — emotion can smother my common sense. I refer the failing to psychologist Bettelheim, who may himself be having trouble with it.

CARROLL O'CONNOR
New York, Dec. 27, 1982

Single, Pregnant and a Children's Role Model

To the Editor:

Your Dec. 27 editorial "Fit to Parent, Fit to Teach" gives enthusiastic approval to the decision of the East Hampton school board to deny the request of some parents for dismissal of an unmarried teacher seven and a half months pregnant.

I do not begrudge you the good feeling to be once again on the side of those who stand valiantly in defense of tolerance. To make the defeat of the dark forces really noteworthy, you comb old records back to 1872 to give us examples of rules for teacher behavior which in the light of today's mores appear indeed absurd.

But you fail to come to grips with the very substance of the conflict: the rights of the individual against the rights of the group. To say, "It is doubtful that any student would intend to emulate the teacher's unmarried parenthood" denies acknowledging the most essential qualification of a teacher, that of being a role model.

The parents have good reason to be concerned, exactly because that teacher has been evaluated by the school board as being "on the top of the heap."

ALFRED DESSAU
Far Rockaway, N.Y., Dec. 27, 1982

When a Begin Opponent Takes His Case to the American People

To the Editor:

In his Dec. 30 Op-Ed article, "Too Much U.S. 'Rope,'" Prof. Mattityahu Peled of Tel Aviv University did a disservice to historical accuracy in order to serve his political aim of overthrowing the Begin Government.

Dr. Peled's main contention is that the present Israeli military structure is such that its influence is greater than it was in Ben-Gurion's time. This influence grows in proportion to the size of the standing army and to the size of the budget. Therefore, in order to reduce it, the U.S. should curtail its financial support to Israel.

This argument is fallacious. Ben-Gurion, as Defense Minister as well as Prime Minister, held the army in the highest primacy; there is clearly no comparison between the influence that Sharon has as Defense Minister and that which Ben-Gurion had.

In the fifties, the influence of the army was all-pervasive, in a manner which is not at all true today. In fact, a case can be made that, had civilian authorities accepted military advice, major debacles of the Yom Kippur war as well as the recent Lebanese conflict would have been avoided.

Furthermore, I wish to contend that Dr. Peled's article represents an anti-democratic and nationally objectionable act as well as being replete with propagandistic distortions of the facts.

What justification is there in a democratic society such as Israel — where disagreements with the Government can freely be brought to the press, to the polls and even to the street — to turn to an external government, to an external voting population, to bring about by coercion a change which its proponent cannot succeed in persuading his own countrymen to accept?

A translation of this in American terms: What would the attitude be in this country to a public figure who turns to the European Common Market countries to carry out policies against the U.S. Government in order to support his disagreement with the U.S.?

Finally, let us examine the credibility of Dr. Peled's writings.

To begin with, Dr. Peled makes a thoroughly misleading statement about the "excessive" financial demands of the Israeli military. He labels as "preposterous" a 50 percent increase in the military budget, with U.S. help, upon the conclusion of the peace treaty with Egypt, which he said removed the "task" of holding Sinai.

What are the facts? Israel had to transfer, on a rapid timetable, its major defensive position, including three major airfields, from Sinai to the Negev. Both the U.S. and Israel recognized that this was too expensive to be borne by Israel alone. Does Dr. Peled claim that a defensive position against Egypt can be abandoned? And what about the Arab countries which have not concluded peace treaties with Israel?

Of the 1982 campaign in Lebanon, Dr. Peled says, "The army was able to field a force greater than the one which fought in Sinai in 1967 without calling up reserves." The purpose of this statement is to show how excessively large the standing army was.

In fact, reserves were called up for use in Lebanon and participated in the war. Since it was a one-front war (Sinai was one front of a multiple-front war) not all reserves had to be used, but those that were not remained on standby alert.

Dr. Peled apparently does not understand democratic procedures, is willing to risk the safety and economic well-being of Israel and rewrites history to serve his political ends.

GERALD HORWITZ
Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 3, 1983

The writer, a theoretical physics professor on leave from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is a visiting scholar at Harvard.

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IN THE NATION

Stalling On Social Security

By Tom Wicker

The Democratic National Committee has yielded again to the temptation to play politics with the Social Security issue, by circulating a fund-raising letter ostensibly aimed at saving the system from "Republican special interests who really don't support it."

No doubt there are such special interests but they aren't nearly as threatening as the political hysteria now clouding the effort to reform and strengthen Social Security. The Democrats' letter can only heighten White House and Republican fears of doing anything that could be even remotely construed as anti-Social Security.

Those fears already seem excessive. President Reagan said at his recent news conference that if he took the lead in recommending reforms he would only cause a "loud outcry from Capitol Hill and the same old political football would be seen going up in the air like a punt on third down."

The Democrats have earned that criticism with their campaign demagoguery on this issue and their ill-advised fund-raising letters. Still, Mr. Reagan was elected to lead and his reluctance to do so on a matter of such importance does him little credit — particularly when it was his poorly conceived recommendations for benefit cuts that began the current political scramble on Social Security.

Speaker O'Neill has not helped matters either by appearing to oppose anything resembling a benefit reduction even for future recipients. No more than the President has he shown a willingness to put forward responsible proposals. Their Alphonse-and-Gaston act not only complicates Social Security reform; it's bound to bring government into greater disdain among already cynical Americans.

The commission appointed by the President and the Speaker to study the problem and recommend reforms is also handcuffed. It's not so much bipartisan as split between the parties — nearly an inevitability on such a sensitive matter, and when the basic division is between the Democrats' preference for higher taxes and the Republicans' belief that benefits must be limited.

No two-party commission could bridge such a gap without a strong political lead from the White House or Congress — preferably both. Instead, Mr. Reagan and Mr. O'Neill seem to expect or at least hope that the commission will reach some consensus behind which they can take shelter. That's leadership?

Only Chairman Rostenkowski of the House Ways and Means Committee has indicated a willingness to act. Unfortunately, if he's left to take the lead, not only is the Democratic-Republican split unlikely to be resolved but the result will inevitably be seen as a Democratic bill. Since the Republicans are hardly strangers to Social Security demagoguery, that would not enhance the prospects for sound reform.

The need remains what it always has been — bipartisan agreement on means to raise the $150 billion to $200 billion needed to tide the system over the short-term problems of the 1980's. If that could be had, it would be easier to get similar agreement on measures to meet the long-term problems of 30 or 40 years from now.

Bipartisan agreement is vital because neither party has the political power to ram through a plan tailored only to its own specifications. And even if one or the other party did have such power, it would be politically vulnerable to the wild charges of the other — that the elderly retired had been betrayed, or the younger workers had been sold out, or other such nonsense.

A whole menu of specific proposals is available from the commission, so that bipartisan agreement on an acceptable reform package hardly seems beyond the wit of man, even Democrats and Republicans, to achieve. The public — most of which is either on Social Security or going to be — can hardly have much patience with the reluctance of Mr. Reagan and Mr. O'Neill to do what sensible people obviously ought to do: sit down together and work out a program acceptable to both, probably combining some new revenues with some benefit limitations.

On one point — the President's reluctance to raise the payroll tax — he is on firm ground. As he said at his news conference, this onerous levy already burdens some Americans more than the income tax, and further increases are scheduled through 1990. When the economy is in recession, moreover, with unemployment near 11 percent, a payroll tax increase taking money directly out of people's pockets makes no sense.

Taxing some proportion of the benefits of well-off retired persons would not have such immediate economic effect and could provide a substantial boost to the Social Security trust fund. Payroll tax increases already scheduled could be revised to bring in added revenues somewhat sooner in this decade, without hampering needed recovery efforts this year. And in all fairness, future rises in cost-of-living adjustments should be keyed to wage increases rather than inflation.

But what's needed first is for Mr. Reagan to pick up the phone and call Mr. O'Neill. Or vice versa. They've got each other's number.

NATO Must Be Ready To Deploy the Missiles

By Stephen J. Solarz

WASHINGTON — Despite a widespread feeling that the Western alliance is in the midst of a severe crisis, there remains a broadly based consensus within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization over how best to respond to the Soviet challenge. Yet before the year is over, NATO may face grave political problems posed by its commitment to deploy intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe in the face of seriously divided European public opinion.

Ideally, the United States and the Soviet Union will reach an agreement making deployment of these missiles unnecessary. But if they fail, NATO must be prepared to proceed with the deployment if the alliance is to avoid disarray and possibly even disintegration.

First of two articles

No one in NATO, not even the most hawkish member of the Reagan Administration, expects a bolt-out-of-the-blue Soviet attack. Nearly everyone, even those Europeans most committed to détente, agrees it would be imprudent to permit the Soviet Union to maintain a significant advantage in the conventional balance of power. If there is a disagreement within the alliance, it is not over whether NATO should respond to the Soviet Union's military buildup but over how much of a defense increase is desirable given the depth of the current recession.

A basic consensus has also emerged on East-West economic relations: It is now generally felt that it would be just as mistaken to engage in a trade war against the Soviet Union as it would be to provide the Kremlin with subsidized credits or to sell it technologies that enhance its military strength.

Yet 1983 is likely to be a crucial and controversial year for the alliance. By December, NATO must determine whether and how to implement its 1979 commitment to counter the threat posed by Soviet SS-20's by deploying 572 cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Britain, assuming it is not possible to reach an agreement in the intermediate-range nuclear-force negotiations in Geneva that would make the deployment unnecessary. If the negotiations fail, a decision to deploy the missiles will face widespread public opposition in all these countries except Italy.

The issue first arose in 1977 when West Germany's Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, concerned about the modernization of Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles based in Eastern Europe, urged the United States to deploy theater nuclear weapons in Western Europe. In view of the strategic parity between the superpowers, our allies concluded that such missiles were needed to warn the Kremlin that a Soviet SS-20 attack against Western Europe would be met by an equally devasting response against the Soviet Union from American missiles based in Europe, thus "coupling" the American nuclear deterrent to Western Europe.

Initially, the United States saw the problem differently, believing that the new Soviet SS-20's did not pose a significantly greater threat to Europe. For purposes of deterrence, Washington contended, the location of American missiles was less relevant than America's will to use them. Clearly the Soviet Union would be just as likely to respond with a retaliatory strike against the continental United States if American missiles were launched from Europe as they would be if the missiles were fired from the United States. Given the fundamental importance to the United States of the political independence and territorial integrity of our allies, as manifested by the presence of 337,000 American troops in Europe, it is hard to understand why the Europeans feel we are any more likely to respond to a Soviet nuclear attack against them simply because we have missiles on their territory.

But the American argument failed to persuade our allies, who insisted on having a European-based counter to Soviet theater nuclear forces arrayed against them. Since NATO's survival depends on allied confidence in the willingness of the United States to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, to protect them, the United States agreed to deploy Pershing 2 and ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe.

Significant European opposition to the deployment decision began to develop only after the United States rejected SALT II and a new Administration in Washington began to make Strangelovian statements about nuclear war. To many Europeans, who forgot that the original Pershing-and-cruise decision was a result of a European initiative, NATO's desire to deploy the American missiles began to look more like a prelude to war than a means of preventing one.

The peace movements that emerged, first in Europe and then in the United States, sprang largely from common concerns, and even share a view of the Soviet Union as a fundamentally flawed society. Yet there are important differences among them. The American movement insists on a mutual and verifiable freeze on the further development of nuclear weapons, but it has not focused specifically on the cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

The movements in Belgium, Britain and the Netherlands have called for limited unilateral Western initiatives in the hope that, if NATO does not deploy Pershing and cruise missiles, the Soviet Union will voluntarily remove or reduce its theater nuclear forces.

The West German peace movement, which unlike the others is basically opposed for moral reasons to the use of force in all circumstances, wants far more than the cancellation of NATO missiles on German territory. Its goal is universal disarmament. And it frankly favors total, unilateral Western disarmament even if the Soviet Union is unwilling to reciprocate.

Still, whatever their differences, all the European peace movements are unequivocally opposed to deploying Pershing and cruise missiles — while all the governments scheduled to deploy these missiles, possibly excepting that of the Netherlands, are committed to proceed should no agreement be reached at Geneva. Their ability to do so without severe political disruptions will significantly depend on whether their people believe the United States or the Soviet Union is responsible for a failure in the negotiations.

Many Europeans were initially reassured by President Reagan's zero-option proposal. But by now they fear that it is not very realistic to expect Moscow to willingly dismantle SS-20's already in place in exchange for a NATO decision to forego the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles that have not even been built.

If the United States is going to maintain its credibility, a fall-back position will be necessary. Such a proposal would presumably involve an offer to limit the missiles we deploy in exchange for a substantial reduction in the missiles deployed by the Soviet Union.

Even with a more flexible American negotiating posture, however, the Geneva negotiations may fail. In that event, we must be prepared to deploy the cruise and Pershing missiles, which our allies believe they need to defend themselves from Soviet nuclear blackmail. There would be extremely grave consequences for the alliance if NATO were unable to carry out its unanimous decision in the face of Soviet pressure and protests.

Given the demoralization and disarray that would inevitably result from a failure to implement the deployment decision, our allies would be much more likely to accommodate than resist Soviet pressure, and the United States would find itself more isolated than ever before.

Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, recently returned from a trip to Europe.



Rafal Olbinski

Israel's Morality Survives Beirut

By Annette Dulzin

TEL AVIV — The verdict is in on the morality of the people of Israel.

The commission of inquiry will not conclude its investigation of the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Beirut for another few weeks. But the commission, created by the will of the people, already has demonstrated that the militarism of our present leaders has not crushed the moral fiber of Israelis. It has done so in at least two ways: first, by showing its will to be stronger than that of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who opposed its establishment; second, by doing so with the knowledge that the morale of Israeli troops still in Lebanon could be undermined if those responsible for their being there are found remiss.

For more than five years, we Israelis have been like a congregation whose rabbi tends to his house of worship rather than its members, for the ghost-fighting Mr. Begin has directed his energies not to his people but to the territories that they occupy.

For those like me who cherish Israel not only as the home of the Jewish people but also of Jewish values, the Likud's policies, which are mortgaging our future to Herut Party ideology, seem antithetical to the moral code in whose name Israel was established and has been supported.

The sense of duty that a survivor feels toward those among whom he or she almost perished propelled me to Israel 21 years ago. I came from an assimilated family — I discovered I was Jewish when I was 8 years old and the Germans moved us first to the Lodz and then the Warsaw Ghettos. For many years, I had tried to ignore the Jewishness that had cost six million lives, but, with the passage of time, the need to remember grew until I felt that the least I could do to "justify" my survival was to go to the one country whose national purpose was to insure that what we Jews experienced would never recur.

Upon my arrival, I was surprised to find a flawed Israel. The Israel I had expected to find was the one depicted by the press — an idealistic society that was further idealized by reporters. In those days, the focus was on Israel's accomplishments, not its failings, and on the dangers surrounding it rather than those within. Today, the opposite is true and the disparity between image and reality is such that many Israelis no longer react to outside criticism, feeling that the country inveighed against and the one in which they live are no longer one and the same.

Some Israelis believe that the negative way that the media now portray them is a result of anti-Semitism — that is, anything that can be remotely construed as corresponding to the ugly stereotype is seized upon as proof of its accuracy.

Because Israel's achievements in social integration and rehabilitation, in agriculture, in cultural vigor and creativity, are all taken for granted and no longer newsworthy, they have ceased to impinge upon public consciousness — even in Israel. The corollary to Goebbels's dictum operates: A truth that is not repeated comes to be forgotten and disbelieved.

Because the world is still interested in Israel, the focus of the media, always in search of the new, becomes ever sharper. Even the most beautiful face can appear ugly when seen close-up, when all proportion is lost. The clearest complexion may have a blemish, and if the camera focuses on the pimple, the picture may be technically true but it does not do justice to its subject.

The world's news media not only search out Israel's imperfections with a magnifying glass, they also turn their attention to the extremes of its political spectrum. This means that the most grotesque ideas expressed by Mr. Begin's most mindless worshippers — as well as by people made irresponsible by their hatred of him — are conveyed as representative of the body politic. The real dichotomy in Israel is one that both underlies and transcends all other internal divisions, whether they are between hawk and dove, religious and secular Jews, Sephardim and Ashkenazim: It is the conflict between militarists and moralists about the extent to which national security should be sacrificed to morality, and vice-versa.

The early settlers and their spiritual heirs sought to create a Jewish state whose moral strength would be great enough to make it a model and friend for its neighbors and immune to the ills that befall less-idealistic societies. But human nature being what it is, only a fraction of the immigrants after 1948 came out of a sense of shared idealism. Mass immigration was "distress" immigration — mostly from Arab lands and Holocaust survivors from Communist countries. Their task, as they still see it, is to insure the country's security. The manner in which this is accomplished is of secondary importance. Their view is: First, you protect life, then you worry about its quality and direction.

In view of the fact that these newcomers constitute the majority of our population, it is all the more remarkable that an enormous, unprecedented number of Israelis took to the streets in protest after the massacres in West Beirut — although we ourselves were not accused of having committed the atrocities but of having failed to prevent others from prepetrating them.

Israel's greatest achievement is twofold. First, a generation ago given many immigrants that no other country would welcome, it has produced citizens who are ready and able to defend their country. Second, above all, moral integrity remains the prime principle operating in our society. The fact that, after the massacre, more people publicly protested what was perceived to be a moral failure than protested, after the 1973 war, what was seen to be military shortcomings that jeopardized Israel's physical survival testifies to our moral strength.

If the operation in Lebanon was deemed by critics of the Government, such as I, as a victory for the militarists, the mass protest that resulted in the commission of inquiry reassuringly shows Israelis and the world that our country's morality is more than holding its own.

Annette Dulzin is a political columnist for the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot.

Because state achievements are taken for granted, they are no longer newsworthy

WASHINGTON

Reagan And Andropov

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 — The Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union have at least one thing in common: they are so suspicious of one another that whatever one side proposes, the other tends to reject. And this negative reaction applies even to the suggestion that the leaders of the two countries should get together and talk over their differences.

For example, President Reagan, in one of his amiable moods, suggested last year that it might be a good idea if President Brezhnev of the Soviet Union came to the United Nations in New York, and maybe they could have a private talk on the side without agendas or expectations.

Mr. Brezhnev was seriously ill at that time, and the word came back from Moscow that such meetings should be "carefully prepared." Now his successor, Yuri Andropov, responding to a question from an old trooper in the Hearst newspapers, Kingsbury Smith, has indicated that he would like to talk to President Reagan, but Mr. Reagan is now holding back and insisting, like Mr. Brezhnev, that any such "summit meeting" should be "carefully prepared."

Maybe the idea of informal talks at the summit is not wise, but the negative reaction on both sides is clear. When Washington wants to talk informally Moscow objects, and when Moscow wants to talk informally Washington objects. Meanwhile, with each passing month, the arms race goes on.

It is interesting and may be significant that Soviet officials here and at the United Nations in New York are now pressing the question of a meeting between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Andropov. They are implying that unless the two leaders meet soon, the nuclear arms control negotiations in Geneva will get nowhere and Moscow will then "give up on Reagan" and wait for a change of policy and executive control in Washington.

Meanwhile, some odd things are happening in Washington among the people who are defining the Reagan Administration policy on nuclear arms control and the people who are negotiating that policy with the Soviets in Geneva.

For example, President Reagan appointed Eugene Rostow, former dean of the Yale Law School, and Paul Nitze, former State and Defense official who had negotiated the strategic arms control in the past, to direct his arms control policy. They were the leaders of the Committee on the Present Danger, and were regarded, and even criticized at the time of their appointments, as being intellectual hawks, highly skeptical of Soviet arms control policy.

Over the last year, however, both of them have been charged with appointing officials and taking positions opposed to the views of extreme conservatives in the Congress and the White House.

Mr. Rostow has not been able to get the assistants he wants approved by Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, and has threatened to resign unless he gets the support of the White House.

Mr. Nitze's problem is more serious. He believes that he was authorized by the President to discuss with the Soviet officials at Geneva how to break the stalemate on arms control — not to commit the United States Government to any possible compromise, but at least to discuss what might be done.

He was rebuked privately and then publicly, by "leaks" within the Administration, for going beyond his authority. He will return to Geneva to carry on his negotiations with the Soviets with the support of the President but uncertain whether he will be undercut by other officials of the Reagan Administration who are really opposed to any nuclear arms control compromise with the Soviets.

It's no wonder, then, that President Reagan hesitates to have a private talk with Mr. Andropov about the control of nuclear weapons. He hasn't got his own policy and his own people together on what to say. He hasn't sided with Mr. Rostow on the issue of his assistants. He hasn't faced up to Jesse Helms. He has supported Mr. Nitze vaguely but done nothing about his own people who are cutting the negotiator up.

Of course this is all helpful to the Soviets, who observe that the Reagan Administration is divided on the policies it is trying to negotiate at Geneva.

Accordingly, they are saying that maybe Mr. Reagan and Mr. Andropov should get together and see if they can't untangle this mess. They even talk about where such a summit meeting should take place. In Scandinavia? In Geneva? Maybe even somewhere at sea, where they might be able to talk privately without newspaper reporters and television cameras.

The NATO allies wonder about this but think it might not be a bad idea. For they seem to believe that unless a serious effort is made by Washington and Moscow to resolve their differences over nuclear arms, they will not be able to persuade their own people to support Mr. Reagan's policy of putting cruise and Pershing missiles on their territory to maintain a balance of power with the Soviets.

Maybe, as many people here believe, the notion of a Reagan-Andropov informal meeting is a bum idea, but there is general agreement in Washington that Mr. Reagan should at least get his own policy and people together, and so far this has not been done.

Arts & Leisure

Ahoy! Just Over the Horizon, A Fleet of Pirate Movies

By STEPHEN FARBER

LOS ANGELES

The image might come from an old Errol Flynn swashbuckler: Two pirates crash through the plate-glass window of the ship's cabin, swinging on ropes that propel them across the deck. Only the incongruous burning embers in their 18th-century wigs suggest that the scene is not intended in dead earnest. "Yellowbeard," the movie that features this spectacular stunt, is a pirate comedy concocted by several members of the Monty Python team and other comedians from both sides of the Atlantic, who have converged on the sleepy town of Zihuatanejo, Mexico, to revive a hardy old genre.

Beginning in the silent era, when Douglas Fairbanks made "The Black Pirate," tales of adventure on the high seas enthralled moviegoers. The pirate genre flourished for several decades but fell out of favor in the 1950's. After that, adventure films were more likely to be set in the future than in the past; the buccaneer hero took up residence in outer space.

Now the swashbuckling genre is attempting a comeback. The first entry, "The Pirate Movie," starring Kristy McNichol and Christopher Atkins, sank to the bottom of the briny deep when it opened last summer. Universal has higher hopes for the film version of Joseph Papp's acclaimed stage production of "The Pirates of Penzance," which opens in February. The director Roman Polanski is also readying a pirate movie. And "Yellowbeard" is scheduled by its producers, Orion Pictures, for a June release.

Perhaps the appearance of several pirate movies at this moment is purely coincidental. But Peter Boyle, one of the stars of "Yellowbeard," suggests that this movie cycle may reflect the unstable times we live in. "Today there are probably more ordinary citizens involved in acts of piracy than ever before," he suggests. "There's a lot of drug-running and smuggling of every kind. There's something going on in the global psyche that is being reflected in films."

Still, "Yellowbeard" is hardly intended as piercing social commentary. It attacks the pirate genre with a mad comedic thrust. The story stirs memories of many other adventure films: A group of greedy characters fight to discover the buried treasure secreted on an island in the Spanish Main. All the familiar elements of the genre are here: the battles at sea, plunder and pillage on land, torture in the brig. But the mayhem is perpetrated by a choice collection of British and American loons: Graham Chapman, John Cleese, Eric Idle, Peter Cook, Cheech and Chong, Madeline Kahn, Peter Boyle, and Marty Feldman (who died on the final day of shooting in Mexico City) are among the chief crazies.

Despite the cast of comedians, all of the filmmakers insist that "Yellowbeard" is not a burlesque in the style of "Airplane" or "Blazing Saddles." "There are elements of parody," says Graham Chapman, one of the writers as well as the star, "but this is not really a spoof of the genre. It has a story that, although ludicrous, hopefully sweeps you along with it. The characters are slightly larger-than-life but not incredible." Bernard McKenna, the co-writer, concurs: "It's a celebration of the genre, but done in a comedic way." The director, Mel Damski, says that he spent a lot of time looking at Richard Lester's film of "The Three Musketeers," hoping to reproduce its mixture of adventure and comedy.





Graham Chapman, above, in the title role of "Yellowbeard," co-starring Peter Boyle and the late Marty Feldman, right—"a rollicking comic yarn."



Despite a cast of such comedians as Madeline Kahn, above, the makers of "Yellowbeard" insist it is not a burlesque.

The project originated with Mr. Chapman, a member of the Monty Python team who played the title role in the group's sacrilegious saga, "Life of Brian." He wrote the first draft with Mr. McKenna, an English television writer. Then Peter Cook, best known for "Beyond the Fringe" and his shows with Dudley Moore, worked with them on the final rewrite. Mr. Chapman and Mr. Cook had first met when both were at Cambridge, and Mr. Chapman credits Mr. Cook and his confederates with inspiring the Monty Pythons. "'Beyond the Fringe' opened doors for all of us," Mr. Chapman says. It convinced us that comedy could be a reasonable pursuit for a university graduate."

Warner Bros. bought the script of "Yellowbeard" a few years ago, then dropped the project because they considered it "too British," according to Mr. McKenna. The success of "Life of Brian" and "Time Bandits" made British humor more commercial, and Orion revived the project. In casting the movie, however, the producer, Carter De Haven, wanted to broaden its appeal for American audiences. "I got the cast I wanted," he says. "All the actors are integral. They are not just playing cameo roles." It was Mike Medavoy, the executive vice president of Orion, who suggested adding Cheech and Chong, in the roles of a sadistic Spanish ruler and his servile henchmen.

Now the question is whether the American and British styles of humor will mesh in the finished film. Peter Boyle comments on one of the basic differences: "The English like wordplay, whereas I look for physical action and physical humor." Before arriving on location, Bernard McKenna spent several months editing segments of "Saturday Night Live" for British television, and he had an opportunity to reflect on the differences between American and British humor. "I found American humor less subtle than ours," he says. "It's slightly louder even in volume. But I enjoyed its bravery of attack, which our comedy doesn't always have. I think 'Yellowbeard' is more in the British style. Even the American actors are underplaying."

Will American and British styles of humor mesh in the finished film?

Much of the movie is being shot aboard the imposing sailing ship built for the 1962 remake of "Mutiny on the Bounty." When Mr. De Haven learned that the Bounty was still in existence and docked in St. Petersburg, Fla., he rented it for "Yellowbeard" and brought it through the Panama Canal to the Pacific coast of Mexico.

Forced into close quarters aboard the Bounty, the actors have developed a camaraderie despite their very different personalities. Graham Chapman provides calm and stability. Smoking his pipe, he looks very much like an English doctor, which in fact he once was: he finished all his medical training before turning in his shingle to pursue the comic muse.

The more flamboyant Cheech Marin explains how he and his partner, Tommy Chong, happened to be conscripted aboard the Bounty: "We had made a deal with Orion for our next picture, a new version of 'The Corsican Brothers.' This is sort of a dry run for that movie. We did it as a gesture of goodwill toward Orion. Also, we want to start branching out. In doing our own movies, we've become so insular that I thought it would be fun to see how other people work."

The straight man in this company of comics — what used to be called the "juvenile" — is Martin Hewitt, playing Yellowbeard's young son and partner in piracy. Mr. Hewitt received a lot of publicity when Franco Zeffirelli chose him to play opposite Brooke Shields in "Endless Love." But when that movie bombed, his career fizzled; he did not work for a solid year. "When this film came up," Mr. Hewitt says, "they didn't even want to see me. My agent persisted and finally got me an interview with the producer and director. I wasn't sure I was right for the part, so I went in with a very carefree attitude. Maybe that was what helped me to get the job. Also, my parents are English, so the accent was easy for me. This is the complete opposite of 'Endless Love.' If it's successful, it should do a lot for my career."

The veteran member of the company is Michael Hordern, who has acted in some 100 films as well as 30 of the 37 Shakespeare plays. In "Yellowbeard" he plays a dotty alchemist drawn along on the treasure hunt. While he waits for his call, Mr. Hordern reads Thomas Hardy's "Jude the Obscure. "It's wonderful how the book brings England to Mexico," he observes. "There's such an appalling amount of waiting on a movie set. Making a movie is rather like warfare — 99 percent boredom and 1 percent terror."

Reflecting on the film and his career in general, Mr. Hordern says, "I've never worked with so many comedians before doing this movie. It's more spontaneous than what I'm used to, but I've gotten into the spirit of it. I love comedy, and I try to find comedy in everything I play, even 'King Lear.' I suppose I'm a jack of all trades, with the well-known corollary, master of none. The advantage is that I've never been typed. People never say, 'that's a Michael Hordern part.' The negative side of that is that I have never achieved and will never achieve stardom. I will never see my name above the title. But I don't regret it. I would hate to play myself in every role, which is what a star must do."

The responsibility for seeing that all these different actors blend into an ensemble rests with director Mel Damski, who has directed episodes of "M*A*S*H" and "Lou Grant" as well as several TV movies but is making his feature debut on "Yellowbeard." The actors seem to feel that he has the right mixture of firmness and flexibility. "Mel is very much in command," Mr. Hordern says, "yet very democratic. He's been able to allow the spontaneity to come to the surface."

"I feel like the conductor of an all-star orchestra," Mr. Damski admits. "All these actors are used to doing solos. They come in with new ideas all the time. I have to say no a lot, and sometimes I'm saying no to very funny things that just happen to be extraneous to the plot or inconsistent with the character."

A bigger problem for Mr. Damski has been staying within the $10 million budget. To keep the price down, Mr. De Haven decided to make the movie a Mexican co-production. Aside from a couple of weeks in England, the entire movie — including interiors — has been shot in Mexico with a crew consisting of American, British, and Mexican technicians. The Mexican Government has cooperated with the producer, hoping that a large Hollywood movie company might help to publicize the budding new resort area of Zihuatanejo in the same way that the filming of "The Night of Iguana" helped to create the resort of Puerto Vallarta some 20 years ago.

The improvisational hijinks of cast and crew should give the movie a zany flavor. But if most of the filming was buoyant, it ended on the melancholy note of Marty Feldman's sudden death. Graham Chapman and John Cleese had launched Mr. Feldman's career as a performer on a television show they created in England 15 years ago. Later Mr. Feldman worked with Peter Boyle and Madeline Kahn in America. So making "Yellowbeard" was a reunion of sorts. Shortly before his death, Mr. Feldman talked about his pleasure at working with so many old friends. "Some movies you do for money," he said, "and some you do for joy. This one is for love. I really did it to hang out with a lot of friends. I've always liked being part of an ensemble. When I was a child, my fantasy was to be Peter Lorre, not Humphrey Bogart. Even in my dreams I played supporting parts."

Nevertheless, he regretted that American films did not give him a chance to show the versatility that he had been able to show in England. His last role may have tapped only a small part of his talent, but Mel Damski emphasizes his contribution to the film: "Marty came up with 10 bits of physical business for every scene he had, and his inventiveness was unbelievable. I couldn't use everything he suggested, but he enriched his part far beyond what was on paper."

It was Mr. Feldman who summed up the kind of movie he and his cronies were trying to make: "A rollicking comic yarn for the young in head."

Stephen Farber is a freelance writer based in Los Angeles.

A Buñuel Retrospective



A scene from "Viridiana," the 1961 film opening a Luis Buñuel retrospective on Thursday at the Film Forum 2. Twenty-three films, made between 1928 and 1977, will be shown before the tribute ends on Feb. 1.

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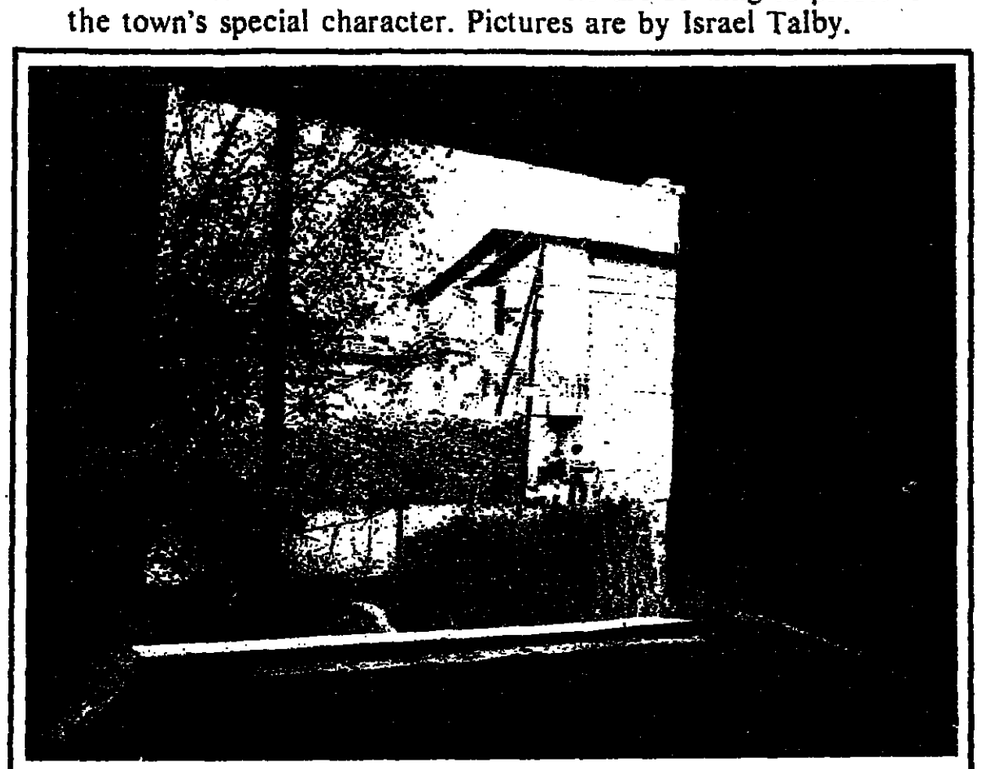
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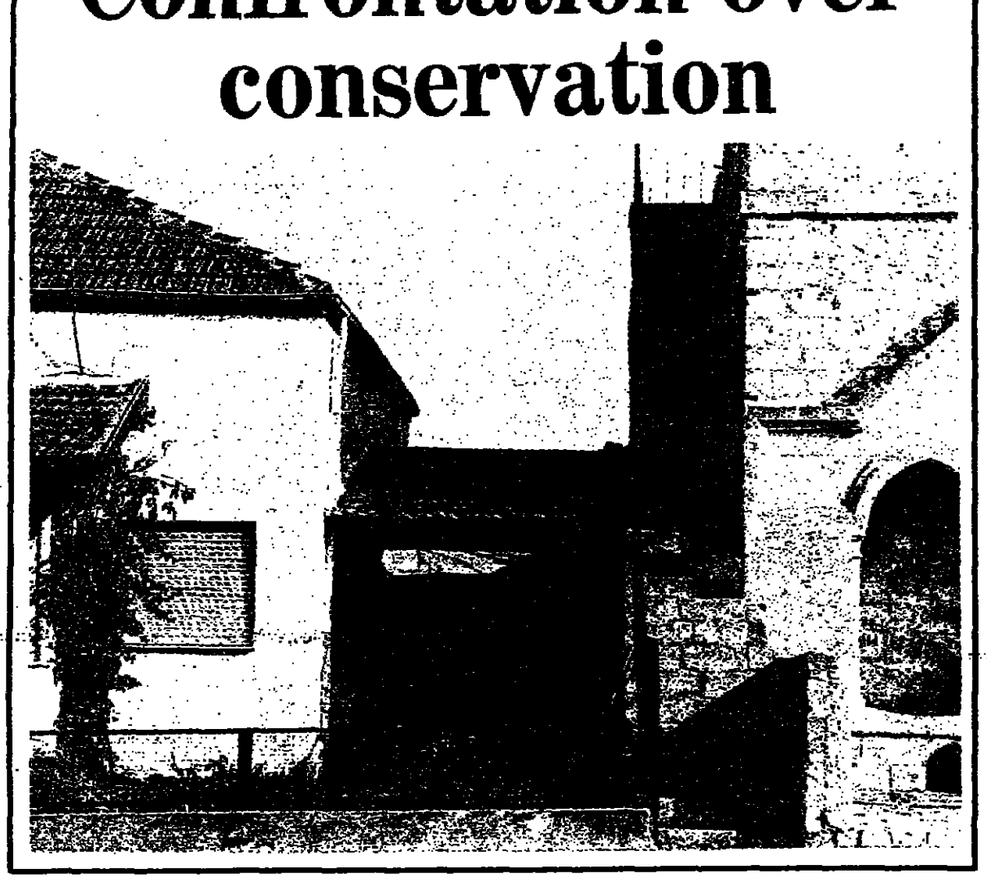
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Geoff Sifrin reports on the row between the mayor of Zichron Ya'acov and some of the residents who are seeking to preserve the town's special character. Pictures are by Israel Talby.



Confrontation over conservation



SOME MONTHS ago, while Zichron Ya'acov was celebrating 100 years of successful Zionist settlement, a bulldozer demolished the first house built there in 1882. A supermarket was to be built on the land and the owner went ahead with the demolition apparently unaware of the *symbolism of his act*. This typifies a process that, if it continues, is likely to change completely the character of Zichron's historic centre.

Zichron is as old as modern Zionism. It was founded in 1882 by a group of Rumanian Jews, who ignored warnings from the German farmers of Haifa that it was impossible to farm the swampy plains. After two difficult years Baron Edmond de Rothschild came to their help with money and ideas. Among other things, he introduced grape and almond cultivation.

It was in the little red-roofed houses that the first Hebrew Teachers Association was founded in 1902, contrary to the wishes of Rothschild's administrators who wanted to introduce French as the official language.

During the First World War, Aharon Aaronson founded the "Nili" a secret Jewish organization which spied against the Turks and Germans for the British forces in Egypt. This was in exchange for arms and aid, intended to eventually enable the Jews to liberate their own country.

The stone-fenced house where Sarah Aaronson, his sister, was tortured by the Turks and where, finally, she committed suicide, still stands and is open to visitors. But its garden is overgrown and neglected.

The historic centre of Zichron is relatively small, about 50 dunams. It still has the atmosphere of past decades, with tractors and cars claiming equal rights to the narrow main streets.

The synagogue, built in 1885 by Baron Rothschild, stands grandly opposite the main town garden, just up the hill from the Zichron wine cellars established around 1893. Behind the adjacent houses are courtyards with trees, barns and workrooms.

Secure as it all seems, big changes could occur. The threat to the centre is simple: the city plan, approved in 1974, virtually ignores the existing buildings and encourages three and four storey apartment-blocks, likely to result in something similar to the Rishon Lezion centre.

The plan defines buildings permitted parallel to the main streets, and has blanket stipulations allowing a commerical storey two residential storeys and another setback storey to be built. It chops up the long agricultural plots without relating to the auxiliary buildings on them, proposing instead new roads, parking and apartment blocks.

There is little to prevent the demolition of old buildings, apart from those specifically designated as historical sites. It is unlikely that any of the landowners will preserve the old buildings since there are potentially large profits to be made from developing the plots to the maximum allowed under the town plan.

GADDI DOVRAT, an architect living in a renovated house near the wine cellars, believes these old buildings offer an exciting opportunity for creating an integrated commercial and residential area which would be unique in the country. It could be an intricate network of pedestrian lanes, shopping malls, apartments and public institutions.

He led me through courtyards, overgrown with long grass and pointed out careful stonework, windows and other details. Many of the buildings are empty and neglected, but Dovrat believes that with only a small effort they could be renovated and made useful again.

He finds it difficult to understand how the planners could have been so blind to the value of what already exists there. Perhaps the fact that the plan was drawn up in the late 1960s, before conservation awareness had become a strong public factor, had something to do with it.

"Luckily for Zichron it is not yet too late," says Dovrat. "It is only in recent years that serious development has begun here, and except for a few ugly blocks the old town centre is still intact. We have to do something soon, though, if we are to save it. It would be a tragedy if it were all bulldozed away and replaced by sterile square blocks with flat roofs."

Along with other concerned residents, he is trying to do something about the situation. Unfortunately a conflict has recently arisen between the conservationists and the town's mayor, Yishai Shibovsky.

IN 1978 Shibovsky formed a committee of public-spirited citizens to help him with topical issues. Initially it was composed of people directly appointed by him, but most of these eventually dropped out and were replaced by other more active residents.

Besides Dovrat there are now people like Hillel Halkin, author and translator of Hebrew literature, and Giddi Levitas, a farmer who is one of the veterans of the town. Levitas is the chairman of the group, which calls itself The Committee for the Conservation and Development of Zichron Ya'acov.

As the committee took an increasingly independent line, relationships between it and the mayor deteriorated and the dialogue between them ceased. Early in 1982 the members decided time was running out and that something had to be done. New housing projects were underway all around Zichron's periphery and the pressure for building in the centre was increasing.

They organized a rally in June, just before the outbreak of the Lebanon War, with two basic objectives — to turn Zichron's planning into a public issue, and to educate the citizens towards a more conservationist approach to their town.

They invited all the residents and tried to persuade the mayor to join them. According to committee members he refused to attend and forbade them to put up posters in the town advertising the rally.

The rally was held despite this, with impressive support. More than 100 families attended and 70 people signed a petition calling for a change in the town plan, for Zichron's special character to be preserved in all future planning and for increased public participation in the planning process.

The response of the mayor was to dissolve the committee, which now meets on an informal basis. But the Lebanon War has diverted the attention of most people, and it is unclear whether public involvement can be regenerated in the near future.

MAYOR SHIBOVSKY believes that a distinction needs to be made between history and nostalgia. "Those people [the conservation committee members] would like to turn the whole of Zichron into a nature reserve", he says. "The old buildings were built for the needs of 100 years ago and today we have to suit ourselves to the needs of the 1980s.

"For me, the so-called committee does not exist. They are a bunch of trouble-makers and I believe that whims and personal interests motivate them.

For example, on the day before President Navon was due to come to Zichron for the centennial celebrations they organized a petition against me and the local council to present to him. Instead of presenting a united front they tried to incite the residents.

"We are preserving certain historical sites like the old synagogue, Beit Aaronson and the old water tower" he says, "but most of the other buildings in the centre are crumbling and not fit for anything except demolition. The local council engineers will ensure that landowners' rights are protected and we will also monitor the architectural aspects of new buildings, so that Zichron will still have a special character."

HALKIN, who is preparing a book about life in Zichron and its history, believes that the mayor has misinterpreted the committee's objectives. "We do not wish to threaten his authority," he says. "All the objections he has raised are things which we have considered and they can be overcome.

For example, it is claimed that by changing the town plan we would be taking away peoples' rights over their land, and that this would cost the authorities huge amounts of money in compensation.

"But we are only proposing that the existing building rights be rearranged in a way that would preserve Zichron's character. We want there to be a freeze on the demolition of buildings for one or two years while a new plan is prepared."

It is also claimed that the planning costs would be high and that the town has more important priorities. "But this is absurd," says Halkin. "Zichron is a national historical asset which has significance for the country as a whole.

"If the money cannot be found within the local council, then it should be found elsewhere, perhaps from the government or other bodies. We cannot let such an asset be wiped out because of a temporary lack of money. Once it is gone it cannot be bought back again when money is available."

The Zichron controversy is symptomatic of a general issue which concerns Halkin. "There is a strange paradox in Israel," he says. "For a nation so utterly embroiled in history, which loves the past so much, we have an incredible indifference to the artifacts of our immediate heroic past, such as the buildings in Zichron.

"We give as much attention to 2,000 year old holes in the ground, but we indiscriminately wipe out 100 year old buildings within which the exploits of modern Zionism took place."

But it is not always a case of public indifference. Halkin believes that the way planning decisions are made in Israel virtually excludes the public from involvement. "When the existing town plan was approved in 1974, that was the first that I had ever heard about it. There is no adequate forum for public discussion on such things. It is usually too late by the time the public gets involved."

HALKIN stresses that the conservation committee is not against development *per se*. "On the contrary, we believe that Zichron needs development, but in such a way that it will maintain what is good in the town.

"If we strengthen the historical and aesthetic aspects of Zichron, tourists and others will come here in increasing numbers and the town will prosper. We want to show people that conservation can also be economically beneficial. People will not come to Zichron if we turn it into another Israeli town of square blocks."

The composition of the town's population does not make things easy for the committee. Of the towns 6,000 inhabitants, only a minority are concerned with the town-centre's development. The first is the veteran pre-state population, living in the old area within and adjoining the town centre. There are about 50 families of East European origin whose roots go back to Zichron's founding in 1882.

Then there are 100 Yemenite families who came in 1912 and are well integrated into the veteran farmer population. There are also some families of agricultural workers who arrived in 1905. Most of these people live in free-standing houses on 1-2 dunam plots.

The second main group inhabits the shikunim, built in the 1950s to the south of the town. Some 3,000 residents, mainly of North African origin, live there and it is from them that mayor Shibovsky derives his greatest electoral support.

His popularity seems to be well-deserved. He has devoted energy and resources to the care of the shikunim and the results are shown in the lack of crime and vandalism, unlike their counterparts in so many other Israeli towns.

Unfortunately the shikun population is uninterested in the conservation issues of the town centre. There is, in fact, very little contact between the two sectors of the town. Thus the conservation question does not constitute any threat to the mayor's electoral base.

The third group is a relatively recent phenomenon of the last five years or so. It consists of 500-1,000 new residents who have come to Zichron from other parts of the country seeking a high quality of life. Many of them are well-educated professionals with financial resources. It is from this articulate group that the conservationists are arising, but their numerical strength is still too small to have a serious effect. However their number and influence is rapidly increasing.

The remaining separate group consists of a few hundred religious people. In the south of the town is the Ohr Sameach Yeshiva, mainly American *Hozrim B'tshuva*, and a seminary. Although still small in numbers, their political strength is growing too. However they have shown little concern for the conservation of the town centre.

Shibovsky is well liked by most of the residents, including some of the conservation-committee members. Halkin says that he is the kind of mayor that one can call up to ask why the garbage was not collected, and who will immediately do something about it. But conservation in Zichron today has come to mean confrontation, and this confrontation could lead to the loss of something not replaceable.

There is a little stone wall with a plaque on it in a treelined road near the Zichron centre. It says: "To the memory of the first hospital to be established in Zichron Ya'acov, in the year 1890." The hospital, set up by Dr. Hillel Yaffe with money from the Rothschilds, was demolished long before the present issue came to the fore. Halkin has a photograph of it and says it was a very beautiful building. He looks at the plaque and sighs: "If we don't do something soon about the planning of Zichron centre, we'll eventually have to have plaques in place of all the old buildings there."

READERS' LETTERS

THE FAILURE OF ORGANIZED ZIONISM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — That the subject of aliya was not given proper importance at the latest Zionist congress was clearly dealt with in your editorial of December 17. This should, nevertheless, not be used as evidence that there are no "real" Zionists in the Diaspora. In fact, over 8,000 Jews from the free world decided to settle in Israel in the year 1981. Few of these Jews, however, would be ready to say that any Zionist organization inspired or helped them to this decision.

Diaspora Zionist organizations are often dominated by professional Jews and *yordim* who actually discourage aliya. A veteran exective director of a Zionist federation demanded that *shlihim* admit that living in North America was better than living in Israel, and a president of another Zionist organization publicly announed that a leader in his movement had made a personal mistake by deciding to settle in Israel. Aliya *shlihim* are accused of stealing Jews who are essential to life in the Diaspora and of defaming local communities when stating that a full Jewish life is only possible in Israel. Asked to invite local Zionists to a meeting with the Prime Minister of Israel, Zionist organizations in one community neglected to include the aliya chairman of the local Zionist federation or a rabbi who headed a local religious aliya movement — both of these men and their families are now living in Israel.

The failure of organized Zionism is not merely in its refusal to inspire aliya — it is a disaster to authentic Zionism by excluding many of those Jews who are ready to make the commitment to settle in Israel. These "real" Zionists are forced to make their aliya without the support of or assistance of Diaspora-based organizational frameworks. It is time for those of us already living in the State of Israel to insist that the necessary decisions be taken to change the face of Zionism so as to better assist those in the Diaspora who are motivated to join us.

DR. ALBERT I. GOLDBERG

Haifa.

CIVIL SERVICE SALARIES AND PENSIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — A civil servant of the highest technical grade earns 1/24 of what a member of the El Al air staff earns and 1/6 of what the lowest member of the El Al ground staff earns — and the same as any unqualified worker starting at a bank.

Underhand deals by the treasury and automatic upgrading has caused pensioners, who are tied to their last grade, to receive less than messenger boys' pensions.

M. REMAK

Holon.

PIANO NEEDED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — The Centre for the Rehabilitation of Youth is a special project for minimal brain dysfunction in Jerusalem. Our many activities include music therapy and we are in urgent need of a piano. If one of your readers can help, please call me at 521517.

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Leumi to build $35m. HQ in Lod

By GEOFF SIFRIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Bank Leumi's decision to select Lod as the site of a $35 million computer and management complex, with an eventual workforce of 4,000 is expected to have major consequences for the development of the town. Mayor Moshe Efrat said last week, as details of the project were disclosed.

The new service centre, which will house $50m. worth of computer and other equipment, as well as management and training facilities, is intended to bring together operations which are presently dispersed in over 20 buildings around Tel Aviv. The computer centre will be the biggest civilian facility in Israel, updating daily over 6 million accounts of various types. Each day some 350,000 cheques pass through the computers.

As an allied activity, the computer centre will contain the largest printing works in the country. Three laser printing devices will each print 10,000 pages per hour, or 25 million lines a day. Three tons of paper reports will be sent out by the computers to the various bank branches every day.

Lod Mayor Moshe Efrat thinks the Leumi project will give a great boost to his town of 41,000 and stresses that as many of the bank workers as possible should make their homes there. Members of the Lod local council refer sadly to the experience with Israel Aircraft Industries and El Al, also located in Lod, where scores of buses bring workers in the morning and take them home at night to other parts of the country.

The working population of Lod is now predominantly weighted towards heavy industry, and the town has a relatively poor image. It is felt that there is a need for about 4,000 workers in service industries, such as banking, to bring Lod's population to a healthier balance and improve its image.

Discussions are in progress now between Bank Leumi, Lod municipality and relevant government bodies to ensure that by the time the computer workers move into the new centre, there will already be attractive housing to help persuade them to live in Lod. This is especially important since the computer centre will operate 24 hours a day, and it would not be practical for the programmers and technicians to be living far away. More than half of the workers will be women.

As part of its attempt to integrate into Lod's population, Bank Leumi has helped setting up computer courses in the town's schools. S. Grofman, director of Africa-Israel Investments, the Leumi subsidiary charged with developing the new centre, says that he hopes to see 25 per cent of the computer workforce eventually coming from Lod itself. At present, less than two per cent come from there.

Architect Ya'acov Rechter planned the new centre. The 160-dunam site, lying to the northeast of Lod centre, has excellent access to the Lod bypass and the highways to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The first stage with 25,000 sq.m. floor space, will be built on 80 dunams, and the rest will be developed at a later stage. There will be five 2-3 storey buildings constructed around a five-dunam hexagonal courtyard with gardens, trees and sculptures. The workers-facility building will contain shops and restaurants.

One of the problems was securing the main computer building against intrusion, sabotage or accident, without giving it the appearance of a fortress. The design uses a basic hexagonal architectural element, with a graded earth slope at the back, to close the computer building from all sides, and integrate it into the overall landscape design.

Rechter emphasizes that the centre should not be perceived in the same way as the new "satellite towns" built in Europe as the headquarters of certain big organizations. He thinks that such one-dimensional creations have resulted in sterile, boring environments. The Bank Leumi Centre, on the other hand, is being built in an existing town and specifically designed to integrate with it in all ways.

Plots near Ma'ale Adumim selling well for $3,600-$5,000

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A Jerusalem real estate agency specializing in lots for private home building in the West Bank last week reported brisk sales at a site about four kilometres south of Ma'ale Adumim.

The agency, Admateinu, says "more than 600 one-dunam parcels have been purchased in the past four months, with 70 remaining." Once these are sold, a second division of building land will begin in an adjacent tract for about 100 more home sites.

Current prices for the one-dunam plots range from $3,600 to $5,000 and do not include VAT. The developer — Mitzpe Construction (Hebron) Company Ltd. — promises buyers to develop the land "at cost."

This includes drawing up the outline plan, building approach roads and installing infrastructure for water and electric utilities. Development is scheduled to begin in May.

The firm will also handle all legal procedures for a fee of 1½ per cent of the sale price. It also undertakes to record the sale in the Land Registry (*tabu*) "as soon as possible."

According to Admateinu Agency's Yisrael Gildan, "a completely finished, brand-new home there probably will not cost more than a run-of-the-mill flat in Jerusalem. And the place is only eight kilometres, as the crow flies, from the city's East Talpiot neighbourhood."

Tentatively named Mitzpe Yehuda, the site is reached by a road that runs southeast from the capital's Arab suburb of Abu Dis.

The overwhelming majority of buyers till now have been young couples.

Hotelier hasn't paid his $400,000 fine

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hotelier Haim Shiff by last Thursday had not yet paid the city the $400,000 he owes it in fines for building violations concerning the structure over the Shekem building on Rehov Ibn Gvirol.

The city had intended to take legal steps against Shiff and even to order a halt to all construction on the 18-storey building.

But municipal sources said yesterday that Shiff was negotiating with city hall over a certain plot of land. Meanwhile, the steps against him are being halted until the end of these negotiations.

According to a contract between Shiff and the municipality, approved by the municipal council last November 28, Shiff was to have paid the $400,000 by December 31. He had the option of paying or buying a 1,026 square metre lot near the building and turning it over to the city.

Shiff is trying to persuade the city to withdraw its demand, while some municipal opposition members claim that the fine is much less than Shiff should have paid for his violation, when he changed his building from a hotel to an office building.

Excessive fare

The Hadera magistrates court on Friday convicted a taxi driver, Libnawi Abdel Latif, of overcharging a client and sentenced him to pay an IS7,500 fine.

Judge Michal Zilber compelled Latif to sign an undertaking not to repeat the offence — which involved not using the taxi metre — for three years.

Fish breeders successfully export sweet water prawn

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — It isn't kosher but its the country's fastest growing export business. The sale of high-priced sweet water prawns (a large type of shrimp) bred in fish ponds here alongside the 10,000 tons of fish that are bred for local marketing annually.

The prawns, introduced to diversify the pond's population, were first exported two years ago, when 3.5 tons were sold in Europe. The following year exports doubled to seven tons and this season, which started two months ago, 16 tons are to exported, Amon Levin, secretary of the Fish Breeders Union told *The Jerusalem Post*. Six tons have already been shipped, mostly by air.

The prawns are hatched in laboratories and introduced into the ponds in April, growing to marketing size of 45 grams by November. The first lots are air-freighted to be sold fresh, while the rest are deep-frozen and shipped by sea.

The breeders earn $6,000 a ton, but they still enjoy Agriculture Ministry aid, to put the business on its feet. None of the prawns are sold locally, because they are not kosher.

Levin said breeders now also experiment with fresh-water eels for further diversification. Both these are relatively high-priced. Meanwhile losses to pond owners are mounting from the freezing to death of St. Peter's fish. Levin said that for the first time the frost had now affected ponds in the Beit Shean Valley, which are usually immune. Losses may amount to several hundred tons, causing millions of shekels in damage, he added. The heavy rains, on the other hand, have brought a large quantity of grey mullet fry to the mouths of the country's streams, where the salt water fish come to spawn. This will ensure large yields for the next couple of years in the ponds. The grey mullet adapts easily to sweet water, but repeated attempts to get the fish to spawn in captivity, which have been going on for years worldwide, have not yet yielded results. The breeders must therefore rely on catching sufficient fry during the rainy season, when the fish come to spawn.

GERMAN JOBLESS. — West German unemployment rose sharply to 2.22 million in December, with both government leaders and private forecasters predicting a higher total before general elections expected on March 6.

AIRLINE BRIEFS

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES has engaged the Gatmor travel agency as its general sales agent for Israel.

Several years ago the company was represented here by El Al, but after Ethiopia severed diplomatic relations with Israel El Al stopped flying there and ties were discontinued. This time the government-owned Ethiopian company decided to engage a private agent.

Addressing reporters here Habte Sebani, the company's regional manager said there was only a commercial — not political — significance to the new ties. Ethiopia is trying to promote tourism there, he added.

Passengers can reach Ethiopia through Italy. Ethiopian Airlines has a direct flight from Rome to Addis Ababa, but its flights from Cairo land in Khartoum.

Israelis who believe it is too risky to fly over Arab countries will probably be able to fly to Nairobi when El Al resumes flights there and continue to Addis Ababa from there.

ARKIA has introduced a package tour to Eilat which can be paid in six instalments linked to the dollar. The flight, a two-night stay in a hotel, a rented car and a sail on a yacht will cost IS9,560.

LUFTHANSA has more than 7,000 different airplane spares in its stocks which have not been required even once in the past three years. It claims that it was nevertheless worth its while holding big stocks, because waiting for days for a part — when it is eventually needed — is generally much more expensive.

Other parts are used more frequently: scarcely a week goes by without one of its over one hundred jets being damaged by a car somewhere around the world.

Mammoth garbage cans gather dust in Haifa

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Millions of shekels worth of giant waste containers — specially built for the municipality — are wasting away in storage because the public does not want them.

The cream-coloured containers, each costing between IS42,000 and IS55,000, first appeared on the streets during the municipality dustmen's strike last August.

But only 90 of the 250 bins are still in use today, mainly in industrial areas. The remainder were put in storage after residents protested at having them outside their homes. People complained that the containers were traffic hazards because they partially blocked roads and pavements.

A municipality spokesman admitted yesterday that the dustbin scheme is being held up because of public opposition.

Israel Lands Administration
Central District

Petah Tikva
Municipality

Ministry of
Construction and Housing
Central District

Build Your Home in Amishav Quarter, Petah Tikva

The Israel Lands Administration, in cooperation with the Petah Tikva Municipality and the Ministry of Construction and Housing, announce the opening of registration for the above programme under which 27 half plots will be allotted for the construction of 27 housing units.

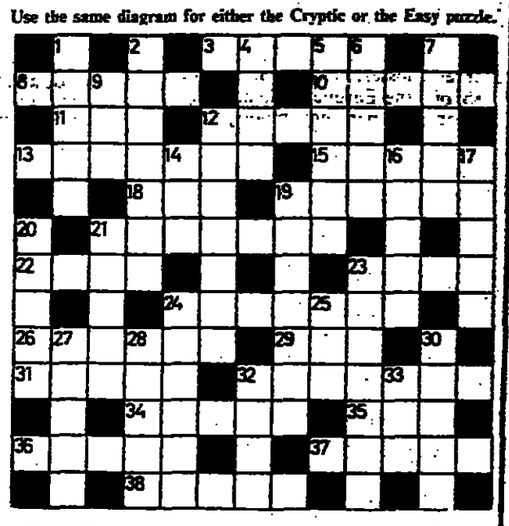
Registration will begin on Tuesday, January 11, 1983 at 9 a.m. and end at 12 noon on Tuesday, January 25, 1983.

Registration will be held at the Heled Company office, 30 Rehov Haim Ozer, Petah Tikva.

Additional details and detailed prospectus are available at the above office during regular working hours.

TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



CRYPTIC PUZZLE

ACROSS

3 Does it give physical strength in the wrong ways? (5)
8 Garments one steals out East? (5)
10 Called to make partial amends, possibly (5)
11 Herbert's in Colombia, it seems (3)
12 They don't grow *up* (5)
13 Giver of ringing applause? (7)
15 Article hard to believe in the least (2, 3)
18 Plenty of cello tone (3)
19 The rest of a hot time (6)
21 Able to be claimed to cure (7)
22 When sweet, are floral (4)
23 Mock a jester lacking heart (4)
24 Break us a record, Ben, in chemical production (7)
26 Semi-feline animals? (6)
29 Beat in blameworthy fashion (3)
31 Points to the girl to follow (5)
32 Feeling of a chap who gets two ducks? (7)
34 Not exactly lurid that's clear (5)
35 TV fixer! (3)
36 Charge back to bed with it (5)
37 Headgear of rubber, etc. (5)
38 Picture taken lightly (5)

DOWN

1 Emphatically cheerful (5)
2 Buildings we all have (7)
4 Rigorous Russian (4)
5 Necessitate some men coming to a fishy end (6)
6 Fail to consume a stew, possibly (5)
7 Traded in cards? (5)
9 Feathered snake? (3)
12 People in a train (7)
14 A case of beans (3)
16 Masterly bloomer! (5)
17 Just the chap to lay out for a posh car (5)
19 Tried to adjust lamps for Ed (7)
20 Distractedly paces the room (5)
21 Poles getting a street name back to front (5)
23 Plane flown by a bounder? (4, 3)
24 Hustle around, Dick (6)
25 Is bound to produce ash (3)
27 Nurse flying around (5)
28 It may be lit up in bed (5)
30 Possibly smite on occasions (5)
32 Gossipy letter to a director (4)
33 That in pairs of lungs? (3)

Yesterday's Cryptic Solution

ACROSS.— 1, Worry. 6, AsseT (rev). 9, Earnest. 10, March. 11, Paper. 12, Re-sin. 13, Flapper. 15, Hem. 17, Ryde. 18, Figure. 19, Plain. 20, Stream. 22, Part. 24, Kin. 25, Thrones. 26, Ha-bi-t. 27, Laced. 28, A-itch. 29, Ribans. 30, Seven. 31, Sheep.

DOWN.— 2, Or-ally. 3, Recipe. 4, Yah. 5, In-N-E-R. 6, Aspirin. 7, Stan. 8, Ex-eter. 12, Realm. 13, Frisk. 14, A-dorn(dawn). 15, Hu-ma-n. 16, Me-Lts. 18, Fight. 19, Pai-a-din. 21, Tirade. 22, Polish. 23, Rescue. 25, Titan. 26, (W)Here. 28, Ads.

Yesterday's Easy Solution

ACROSS.— 1, Cheap. 6, Tripe. 9, Panache. 10, Weepy. 11, Rinse. 12, Felon. 13, Parasol. 15, Hem. 17, User. 18, Revere. 19, Fleas. 20, Crisis. 22, Sere. 24, Hit. 25, Meander. 26, Lured. 27, Chair. 28, Cigar. 29, Fearful. 30, Isles. 31, Psalm.

DOWN.— 2, Hyenas. 3, Appear. 4, Pay. 5, Panel. 6, Thrones. 7, Rein. 8, Pusher. 12, Fools. 13, Punch. 14, Remit. 15, Hewed. 16, Meter. 18, Raged. 19, Figures. 21, Riches. 22, Snails. 23, Recall. 25, Merry. 26, Life. 28, Cup.

EASY PUZZLE

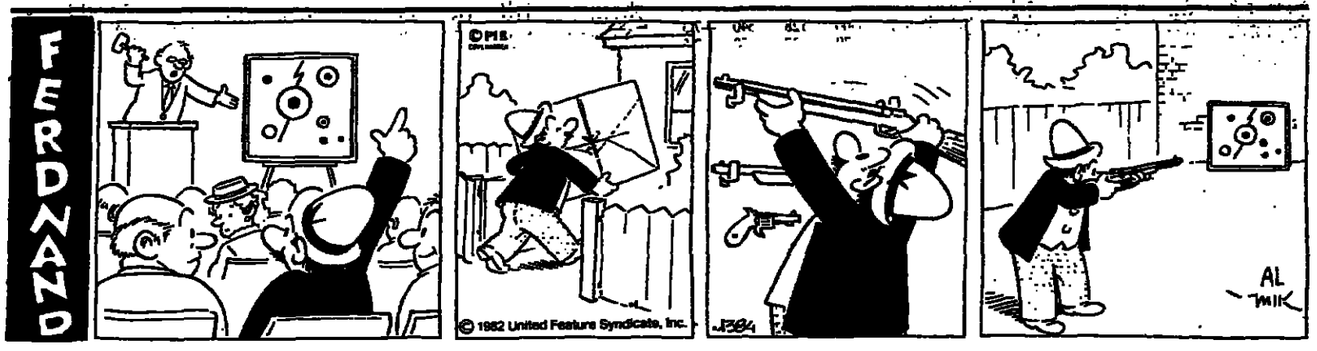
ACROSS

3 Pointed weapon (5)
8 Climb (5)
10 Election deciders (5)
11 Be in debt (3)
12 Old Testament leader (5)
13 Rail support (7)
15 Stage show (5)
18 Wrath (3)
19 Help (6)
21 No matter when (3, 4)
22 Ladder stave (4)
23 Pleased (4)
24 Bears (7)
26 Poorly (6)
29 Convent woman (3)
31 Garment (5)
32 Directed (7)
34 Baits (5)
35 Furrow (3)
36 Deduce (5)
37 Tab (5)
38 Informs (5)

DOWN

1 Berate (5)
2 Running away (7)
4 Needy (4)
5 Disinclined (6)
6 Flowers (5)
7 Planet (5)
9 Wonderment (3)
12 Encounter (7)
14 Snoop (3)
16 Small glass bottles (5)
17 Musical test-piece (5)
19 Quantities (7)
20 Staple food (5)
21 Fish (5)
23 Army officer (7)
24 Make certain (6)
25 Regret (3)
27 Subtle mockery (5)
28 Ait (5)
30 Put off (5)
32 Vend (4)
33 Cause friction (3)

Solutions to today's puzzle tomorrow



WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at IS120.70 per line including VAT, insertion every day costs IS2386.20 including VAT per month. Copy accepted at offices of The Jerusalem Post and all recognized advertising agents.

Jerusalem

MUSEUMS

Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art and Archaeology; Primitive Art from the Museum Collection; Open Eye, design by Sandberg; Touch, children's exhibition; Bezalel 1906-1929; Art of Bezalel Teachers; Tip of the Iceberg No. 1, 19th century French drawings and prints from Museum collection; Toys and Games of the Ancient World (Rockefeller Museum); Wonderful World of Paper (Paley Centre); Special Exhibits: Islamic Armour, Iran 17th-18th century (Rockefeller Museum); Japanese Miniature Sculpture, Netsuke and Inro, 18th-19th century; Hanukka Lamp, early 17th century, Poland; Model of Shrine, pottery 9th-8th century B.C.E.; Small Figurines of Humans, Nahal Oren limestone figures, early Neolithic period; Clay Jug and Juglet, Middle Canaanite period IIA (early 2nd millennium B.C.E.).
Visiting Hours: Main Museum 10-5. At 11: Guided tour in English. 3.30: Special guided tour of the Archaeology Galleries. 8.30: Literary evening in Hebrew, Renaissance Poetry.

CONDUCTED TOURS

HADASSAH — Guided tour of all installations * Hourly tours at Kiryat Hadassah and Hadassah Mt. Scopus. * Information, reservations: 02-416333, 02-426271.
Hebrew University:
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28
2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Building. Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-882819.
American Mizrachi Women. Free Morning tours — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-699222.

Tel Aviv

MUSEUMS

Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions: City and Art; Dizengoff House; Tel Aviv, Early Photographs; East or West, Architecture in Israel 1920-1933; Collections: Israeli Art 1960-1980; Classical Art from the 17th and 18th centuries; Impressionism and Post Impressionism, 20th Century Art in Europe and the United States; Archipenko, Early Works (1910-1921). New Exhibition (opens 17.1.83 at 7 p.m.): Arman: Parade of Objects, Retrospective 1955-1982.

CONDUCTED TOURS

American Mizrachi Women. Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv. Tel. 220187, 243106.
WIZO: To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232939; Jerusalem, 226060; Haifa, 89537
PIONEER WOMEN — NA'AMAT. Morning tours. Call for reservations: Tel Aviv, 256096.

Haifa

What's On in Haifa, dial 04-640840.

Rehovot

The Weizmann Institute. Grounds open to public from 8.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 3.15 p.m. Friday 11.00 a.m. only.
Tours of the Weizmann House every half hour from 10.00 to 3.30 p.m., Sunday to Thursday. Nominal fee for admission to Weizmann House.
No visits on Saturdays and holidays.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Mount Olives, 287480. Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315. Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108. Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058. **Tel Aviv:** Sdeh Dov, 3 Hausner, 428510. Briuth, 28 King George, 283731. **Netanya:** Hanassi, 36 Weizmann, 23639. **Haifa:** Yavne, 7 Ibn Sina, 672288.

DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics, E.N.T.). Hadassah E.K. (internal, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology). Misgav Ladach (obstetrics). **Tel Aviv:** Rokah (pediatrics, internal, surgery). **Netanya:** Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology, surgery).
Misgav Ladach: Open line 4-6 p.m. every Monday answers to obstetrics, gynecological, sterility, sexual functioning, and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633356.

POLICE

Dial 100 in most parts of the country. In Tiberias dial 924444, Kiryat Shmona 40444.

GIVE SOLDIERS LIFTS

FIRST AID

Magen David Adom first aid centres are open from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. Emergency home calls by doctors at fixed rates. Sick Fund members should enquire about rebate.

Phone numbers: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, — 101. Dan Region (Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak, Givatayim) — 781111.

Ashdod 22???	Nazareth 54333
Ashkelon 23333	Netanya 23333
Bat Yam 58555/6	Petah Tikva 912333
Beersheba 78333	Rehovot 054-51333
Eilat 72333	Rishon LeZion 942333
Hadera 22333	Safed 30333
Holon 803133/4	Tiberias 20111
Nahariya 923333	

"Eran" — Mental Health First Aid, Tel.: Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 253311, Haifa 538-888, Beersheba 32111, Netanya 35316.

Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv — 234819, Jerusalem — 810110, and Haifa — 88791.

FLIGHTS

24-HOUR FLIGHT INFORMATION SERVICE
Call 03-972484
(multi-line)
ARRIVALS ONLY
(TAPED MESSAGE)
03-295555 (20 lines)

ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL:
8.35 English 6 8.50 Geography 7-9 9.20 English 5 10.05 Mathematics 4 10.30 Programme for Kindergarteners 11.00 Spoken Arabic 11.15 Math/Geometry 6 11.30 Math/Geometry 5 11.45 English 7 12.05 English 8 12.30 Literature 9-12 13.05 High School Science 16.00 Handicrafts 16.10 Battle of the Planets 16.40 The Universe and I 17.00 A New Evening — live magazine
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES:
17.30 3, 4 5½ — Chompi and Einshem on the Plane
17.50 The Match Girl
18.20 Cartoons
ARABIC-LANGUAGE programmes:
18.30 News roundup
18.32 Sports
19.27 Programme Trailer
19.30 News
HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at 20.00 with a news roundup
20.03 Fame. Part 13 of a 16-part series based on the film about a New York performing arts school: A Special Place
20.50 Stop — weekly road safety corner
21.00 Mabat Newsreel
21.30 Portraits — series on Israeli artists and writers: Marcel Janco
22.05 This Is the Time — weekly interview show
22.50 Kaz — weekly series about a lawyer who has just completed his legal studies while in prison: The Slow Man
23.35 News
JORDAN TV (unofficial):
17.30 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour 18.25 (JTV 3) Little House on the Prairie 19.00 News in French 19.30 News in Hebrew 20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 The Other Arf 21.10 Documentary 22.00 News in English 22.15 The Agatha Christie Hour

ON THE AIR

First Programme

6.11 Musical Clock
7.00 This Morning — news magazine followed by Morning Melodies
8.05 Mozart: Violin Concerto in A Major, K.219 (Szeryng, Gibson); Turina: Trio; De Falla: Seven Spanish Folksongs (Teresa Berganza, Narciso Yepes); Petzel: Suite for Wind Instruments (Ars Nova); Tchaikovsky: Piano Concerto (Horazio Gutterrez, London Philharmonic, Previn) 10.05 Handel: Belshazzar and Ahasuerus (Maureen Forrester); Arne: Ahasuerus (Joan Sutherland); Verdi: Nabucco (Tito Gobbi); Walton: Belshazzar's Feast (John Shirley-Quirck)
11.00 Sephardi Traditions
11.15 Elementary School Broadcasts
11.30 Education for All
12.05 Schuetz: 2 Psalms (Cilla Grossmeyer, Elisabeth Roloff); Schubert: Sonata in A Major (Michal Tal); Bloch: Exotic Night (Isaiah Braker, Irene Blaser)
13.00 Handel-Beecham: Entry of the Queen of Sheba (Royal Philharmonic, Beecham); Pokorny: Concerto for 2 Horns (Baumann, Kohler); Sandor Balassa: Iris: Schubert: The Twins, Overture
14.10 Children's programmes
15.30 World of Science (repeat)
15.55 Notes on a New Book
16.05 Beethoven: Sonata, Op.79 (Ashkenazi); Beethoven: Trio, Op.87, for 2 Oboes and English Horn (Holliger); Britten: Excerpts from Let's make an Opera
17.35 Programmes for Olim
20.05 Everyman's University
20.35 Israeli Artists in Paris — Gary Bertini conducts the French National Orchestra: Webern: Passacaglia, Op.1; Liszt: Piano Concerto No.2 (Christian Zimmerman): The Israel Baroque Players at the Paris Summer Festival — music by Boismortier, Leclair, D. Gabrieli, Telemann and Vivaldi; David Shallon conducts the French National Orchestra: Mendelssohn: Fingal's Cave, Overture; Reger: Ballet Suite, Op.130
22.30 Reflections on the Portion of the Week by Rabbi Zephania Drori
23.00 Listen Carefully — discussion on works by Cummings, Berio and Boulez
00.10 Choral Music — works by Bach

Second Programme

6.12 Gymnastics
6.22 Agricultural Broadcasts
6.35 Editorial Review
6.54 Green Light — drivers' corner
7.00 This Morning — news magazine
8.05 First Thing — with Ehud Manor
10.10 All Shades of the Network
12.05 Open Line — news and music
13.00 Midday — news commentary, music
14.10 Matters of Interest
16.10 From Here to There — immigration matters
17.10 Magazine
17.25 Of People and Places
18.05 Religious Affairs Magazine
18.47 Bible Reading — Proverbs 18:14-24
19.00 Today — people and events in the news
20.10 Sabbath songs
22.05 Literary Magazine (repeat)
23.05 The Second Half — women's magazine

Army

6.06 Morning Sounds
6.30 University on the Air — Prof. Yosef Ben Shlomo lectures on the Philosophy of Spinoza
7.07 "707" — with Alex Ansky
8.05 IDF Morning Newsreel
9.05 Right Now — with Rafi Reshef
11.05 Musical Requests — with Shira Gera
12.05 Israeli Winter — with Eli Yisraeli
13.05 One and to the Point
14.05 Two Hours — music, anecdotes, interviews and reviews
16.05 Four in the Afternoon — Hebrew songs
17.05 IDF Evening Newsreel
18.05 Army and Defence Magazine
19.05 Music Today
20.05 Israeli Rock
21.00 Mabat Newsreel
21.35 University on the Air (repeat)
22.05 Popular songs
23.05 Bestseller (repeat)
00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

CINEMAS

JERUSALEM 4, 7, 9
Eden: Raiders of the Golden Cobra Chest; **Edison:** E.T.; **Habirah:** Puppy Love; **Kfir:** Good Luck; **Mitchell:** All Quiet on the Western Front 6.45, 9; **Orgil:** Born to Victory; **Orion:** Silent Rage; **Orna:** Banana Joe; **Rex:** Clockwork Orange 4, 6.30, 9; **Semadar:** Reds 8; **Binyanei Ha'uma:** Tempest 6.30, 9; **Cinema One:** Gone With the Wind 4; A Crazy Daddy 8; Love Story 9.30; **Cinematheque:** Prophecy 5: Comunale Kino short films, 7 p.m. in the large hall: The Love of Jeanne Nei, 7 p.m. in the small hall: Barravento 9.30

TEL AVIV 4.30, 7.15, 9.30
Allenby: Return of the Soldier; **Ben-Yehuda:** All Quiet on the Western Front; 9.05 Right Now — with Yitzhak Ben-Ner
Chen 1: E.T. 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Chen 2:** Missing 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Chen 3:** Ragtime 6.20, 9.15; **Chen 4:** Bedknobs and Broomsticks 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; Beau Geste 10.30 a.m., 1.30; **Chen 5:** Last Days of Love 4.15, 7, 9.35; Donna Flor and Her Two Husbands 10.30 a.m., 1.30; **Cinema One:** Fame 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Cinema Two:** closed; **Dekel:** Still of the Night 7.15, 9.30; **Drive-In:** Fire Fox 7.15, 9.30; Sex film, midnight; **Esther:** If You Could See What I Could Hear; **Gat:** Victor Victoria 4.15, 6.50, 9.30; **Gordon:** Tempest 4.30, 7, 9.30; **Hod:** Dead End Street; **Lev I:** Night of San Lorenzo 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Lev II:** Hamsin 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Lisser:** Les Miserables 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Marina:** One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest 7, 9.30; **Az Men Git Nemt Men** 4.30; **Mograbi:** Deer Hunter; **Orly:** A Little Sex; **Paris:** She Dances Alone 10, 12, 2, 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; **Peer:** Long Way Home; **Shahef:** Private Popsicle 4.30, 7.15, 9.15; **Studio:** The Gift; **Tchelet:** Heritage; **Tel Aviv:** Policewoman Called Louis; **Tel Aviv Museum:** In For Treatment; **Zafon:** King of Comedy; **Tamuz:** Tarzoon 7.15, 9.30

HAIFA 4, 6.45, 9
Amanai: Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex 7, 9; **Amphitheatre:** High Risk; **Armon:** E.T.; **Atzmon:** If You Could See What I Could Hear; **Chen:** West Side Story 6, 9; **Galor:** Bridge on the River Kwai 10, 2, 6; His Name Was Holy Ghost 12, 4, 8; **Merlak:** Eating Raoul 6.45, 9; **Orah:** Dead End Street; **Orlan:** Flighty Girls 6 nonstop; **Orly:** Hamsin 6.45, 9; **Peer:** Victor Victoria 4, 6.30, 9.15; **Rest:** Eskimo Limon 4, 6.30, 9; **Shavit:** Long Way Home; **Zaran Or:** One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest 6.30, 9 Flash Gordon 4,

RAMAT GAN
Armon: Victor Victoria 7, 9.30; **Lily:** Return of the Soldier 7.15, 9.30; **Onda:** Missing 7, 9.30; Desert Battle 4; **Orion:** Private Popsicle 7.15, 9.30; **Ramat Gan:** Man With the Deadly Lens 7.15, 9.30; **Kfar Hamaccabiah:** Romeo and Juliet 7.30, 9.30
HERZLIYA
Tiferet: Rocky III, 7.15, 9.15
PETAH TIKVA
Shalom: Fire Fox 6.45, 9.15

NETANYA
Esther: Private Popsicle 7, 9.15; Az Men Git Nemt Men 5

HOLON
Migdal: Missing 7.30, 9.30; **Xanadu** 4.30; **Savey:** Sharky 4.30, 7.15, 9.30

RAMAT HASHARON
Star: On Golden Pond 9.30

HOD HASHARON
Barak: Moses 7.15; Comin the Bachelor 9.30.

Heth resignation depresses prices

TEL AVIV. — The resignation of Dr. Meir Heth as board chairman of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, which was announced last Thursday after the trading session was over, cast a pall over trading yesterday. In a moderately active session, marked by a high degree of volatility, shares turned mostly lower. Financial issues, led by the commercial bank group, put on a strong showing as most securities came through with good gains.

However, shares losing 5% or more outpaced shares which rose by a similar amount by a margin of two to one. Included were 19 issues which were "sellers only," while 11 came through with gains of 5% in the wake of a "buyers only" situation.

Institutional favourites, that is, those securities which have the backing of mutual funds, portfolio managers and certain brokers, for the greater part came through the rocky session unscathed. The so-called "free shares" did not fare as well and in quite a few instances were down by 10%. However, encouragement was drawn from the fact that there was a willingness to "buy in" at the lower price levels.

One of the very pleasant surprises of the session was the 53% advance recorded by the Yahalom Hotels issue in the aftermath of two sessions of being "buyers only." The gain was achieved on a high turnover whose cash value exceeded IS22m.

The commercial bank group was in good form. United Mizrahi (r) and Israel General added on 1.1%, while the 0.1 shares of the Israel Maritime Bank galloped ahead by 7.5%. The Big Three banks were all ahead by their customary modest margins. FIBI eked out a one per cent rise, but the shares of the First International Bank were 4.6% lower. Danot 5.0 was the only major loser, as it absorbed an 8.7% drop.

Mortgage bank issues were mixed without any major changes. In the specialized financial group the shares of the Industrial Bank were 10% lower.

Insurance equities were mostly lower. Hadar 1.0 and Phoenix 0.1 were 10% losers, but Arye was nearly 2.5% higher.

Land development and real estate shares were highly volatile, with some sharp price swings in evidence. Mar-Lez was 9.2% higher, while Ispro was clipped for a 10% loss. Lumir 1.0 eased by one point. Rassco pref. was 10% lower, but the Matam securities were all on the "buyers only" list. Caesara 0.1 was a 10% winner.

Industrials were also highly volatile, with prices clearly trending lower. Ten per cent losers included IP Industries, Urdan 0.5, Ata B and C, Tadir Cement 1.0 Fertilizers 0.1, Vitalgo 5.0, Hateh of 5.0, Lodzia 0.1, King 1.0 and 5.0, and Katzenstein 1.0. Kalil 1.0 went against the trend and was up by 10%.

Investment company issues were mixed, but this did not prevent some good gains from being chalked up. Amissar was up by 9.4%, while Central Trade gained 13.5%. Unico (r) was a 10% loser, and Discount Investments (r) lacking support, also was nearly 10% lower. Clal Israel was 3% higher, while Clal Industries gained 6.3%. Landeco 0.5 gained 9.3%, while Piryon was up by 1.7%.

Oils and the down market did not mix, as the sector put in a fairly strong advance. Delek Oil Exploration 5.0, Fedoil 1.0, and JOEL all were 10% higher.

The index-linked bond market, in moderately active trading of IS485m., was generally higher, with gains of up to 0.5%.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

CALENDAR

Today, Monday Agan Chemicals, opening of trading of its option; **Yahalom Hotels**; opening of trading of its option; **Clal Israel**, opening of trading of its option; **Shin-Har**, opening of trading of its option.

Tuesday **Discount Bank**; trading rights; **IDB**, trading in rights; **Shin-Har**, opening of trading and shares.

Wednesday **Caesarea**, allocation of 250% in bonus shares. **Pri-Or**, allocation of 50% in bonus shares.

Most active stocks

Leumi	1746	6,678.0	+6
Ata C	1458	6,054.7	—162
Yahalom	433	5,231.3	+150

Shares traded: IS 1.810.
Convertibles: IS22.2m.
Bonds: IS485.9m.

	Closing price	Volume IS1,000	Change	% change
Commercial Banks				
IDB p.	46000	—	n.c.	—
IDB r	2013	944	+6	+.3
IDB B r	2787	b.o.1	+133	+5.0
IDB p. A	12100	4	+200	+1.7
IDB op 7	10300	3	+150	+1.5
Union r	1800	1.018	n.c.	—
Union op 4 r	6650	1	—50	—.8
Discount r	3167	868	+19	+.6
Discount A r	2637	1,216	+10	+.4
Discount op 2	2025	95	—5	—.3
Discount B	307	545	+5.	+1.7
Mizrahi r	2022	3,414	+22	+1.1
Mizrahi b	2022	*104*	+22	+1.1
Mizrahi op 3	13760	1	+1309	+10.5
Mizrahi op 10	3498	12	+180	+5.4
Mizrahi op 11	1425	197.8	+70	+5.2
Mizrahi sc 6	6500	2	+350	+5.7
Mizrahi op 7	5620	1	+120	+2.2
Mizrahi sc 9	358	180	+22	+6.6
Maritime 0.1	7000	479	+490	+7.5
Maritime 0.5	2403	619	n.c.	—
Hapoalim p. B	5651	3	+250	+.6
Hapoalim r	3380	1.799	+15	+.5
Hapoalim b	3380	4b	+15	+.5
Hapoalim op 7	11400	11	n.c.	—
Hapoalim op 13	2610	189	n.c.	—
Hapoalim sc 6	7400	—	n.c.	—
Hapoalim sc 8	5120	—	n.c.	—
General A	7181	49	+81	+1.1
General op 6	13600	4	+260	+2.0
General op 8	5178	26	+398	+8.3
General sc 5	1800	11	—1	—.1
General 7	163	348	+4.	+2.5
Leumi	1746	6.678	+6	+.3
Leumi op 4	9290	4	+20	+.2
Leumi op 13	1210	255	n.c.	—
Leumi sc 9	1186	16	n.c.	—
Leumi sc 11	319	580	n.c.	—
OHH r	2970	29	n.c.	—
Finance Trade	3441	248	+35	+1.0
Finance Trade	2630	100	n.c.	—
Finance Tr. op	2420	49	+51	+2.2
N. American I	2940	191	+80	+2.8
N. American 5	1910	81	+35	+1.9
Danot 1.0	2052	537	+2	+.1
Danot 5.0	680	4,107	—65	—8.7
Danot sc 2	1145	760	—105	—8.4
First Int'l 5	1751	2.867	—84	—4.6
FIBI	3200	1.475	+30	+1.0
Mortgage Banks				
Adanim 0.1	1400	34	—30	—2.1
GenMortgage r	1925	155	—20	—1.0
GenMortgage b	1925	2	—25	—1.3
Carmel r	3730	118	+20	+.5
Carmel op A	8750	4	—10	—.1
Binyan	1255	30	+45	+3.7
DevMortgage r	1180	137	n.c.	—
DevMortgage b	1300	6	n.c.	—
Mishkan r	5155	38	+25	+.5
Mishkan b	5155	2	+25	+.5
Independence	5000	5	—300	—5.7
Indep. op 1	3206	9	—300	—8.6
Tefahot p. r	4573	42	+73	+1.6
Tefahot r	4573	473	+40	+.9
Tefahot b	4533	10	n.c.	—
Tefahot 2%	7615	36	+412	+5.7
Tefahot op A	3310	30	n.c.	—
Tefahot op B	540	506	+14	+2.7
Tefahot d 1.	166	876	+5	+3.1
Merav r	2360	1,729	+50	+2.2
Financing Institutions				
Shilton r	915	428	+15	+1.7
Shilton op B	2926	b.o.2	+174	+6.3
Shilton sc 1	—	—	—	—
Shilton sc 2	—	—	—	—
Otzar Lat. r	1700	137	n.c.	—
Otzar Lat. b	1730	28	n.c.	—
Contractors C.	514	530	n.c.	—
Agriculture A	15100	10	+694	+4.8
Ind. Dev. p. r.	9203	9	—1023	—10.0
Clal Lease 0.1	1700	107	—150	—8.1
Clal Lease 0.5	800	100	—75	—8.6
Clal Lease op B	725	95	—90	—11.0
Clal Lease sc 1	325	405	—14	—4.1
Insurance				
Aryeh r	2690	369	+60	+2.3
Aryeh op	80000	13	n.c.	—
Aryeh op B	1620	300	+10	+.6
Aryeh sc 1	2445	49	+20	+.8
Ararat 0.1 r	1622	107	+47	+3.0
Ararat 0.5 r	983	259	n.c.	—
Reinsur. 0.1 r	3100	11	—60	—1.9
Reinsur. 0.5 r	2165	68	+15	+.7
Reinsur. op 1	1717	10	+30	+1.8
Hadar 1.0	1102	79	—123	—10.0
Hadar 5.0	727	126	n.c.	—
Hadar op 1	559	124	—6	—1.1
Hassneh r	4830	1,439	n.c.	—
Hassneh b	4650	5	—30	—.6
Hassneh op 3	4443	29	n.c.	—
Phoenix 0.1 r	3798	31	—422	—10.0
Phoenix 0.5 r	3432	4	n.c.	—
Hamishmar	560	s.o.1	—30	—5.1
Hamishmar	379	968	n.c.	—
Hamishmar op	472	411	+3	+.6
Yardenia 0.1 r	1950	44	n.c.	—
Yardenia 0.5 r	790	94	+5	+.6
Yardenia op 1	1582	10	—140	—8.1
Menora 1	3100	36	n.c.	—
Menora 5	1850	7	n.c.	—
Sahar r	1755	282	—145	—7.6
Securitas r	1930	134	n.c.	—
Zur r	2815	97	+15	+.5
Zur op 2	2460	13	n.c.	—
Zion Hold. 1.0	1171	s.o.1	—61	—5.0
Zion Hold. 5.0	353	885	—20	—5.4
Services & Utilities				
Galei Zohar 1	350	69	—29	—7.7
Galei Zohar 5	186	141	—6	—3.1
Galei Zo. op 1	176	126	+4	+2.3
Data Mikun	573	108	+6	+1.1
Delek r	6490	51	—10	—.2
Delek b	7540	—	—10	—.1
Harel 1	415	818	—46	—10.0
Harel 5	278	365	—1	—.4
Harel op 2	218	137	+22	+11.2
Lighterage 0.1	11638	s.o.1	—612	—5.0
Lighterage 0.5	7740	287	—860	—10.0
Cold St. 0.1 r	32670	1	+2970	+10.0
Cold St. 1.0 r	11680	14	—820	—6.6
Israel Electric	—	—	—	—
Dan Hotels 1	525	304	—11	—2.1
Dan Hotels 5	319	457	—17	—5.1
Coral Beach	195	349	+5	+2.9
Coral B. op 1	145	87	—2	—1.4
Teta 1	1052	s.o.2	—55	—5.0
Teta 5	461	507	n.c.	—
Teta op	384	s.o.1	—51	—11.7
Magor 0.1	3320	13	+140	+4.4
Magor 0.5	817	58	—1	—.1
Magor op 1	2290	12	n.c.	—
BondWare 0.1	1689	s.o.1	—89	—5.0
BondWare 0.5	898	s.o.2	—47	—5.0
BondWare op	629	230	—75	—10.7
Yahalom	433	5,231	+150	+53.0
Nikuv 1.0	1000	42	—100	—9.1
Nikuv 5.0	934	s.o.1	—49	—5.0
Nikuv op 1	978	23	+20	+2.1
Consortium	1640	38	+80	+5.1
Consortium op	1640	22	n.c.	—
Crystal 1	1785	163	n.c.	—
Rapac 0.1	2280	8	+180	+8.6
Rapac 0.5	570	s.o.1	—30	—5.0
Supersol 2	6680	49	n.c.	—
Supersol 10	2480	317	n.c.	—
Supersol op B	1950	31	n.c.	—
Land, Building, Citrus				
Oren	519	383	—10	—1.9
Oren op 1	1001	31	n.c.	—
Azorim Invest.	575	335	+19	+3.4
Azorim r	627	494	n.c.	—
Azorim op C	3767	1	n.c.	—
Azorim op D	1313	86	n.c.	—
Azorim op E	524	84	n.c.	—
Africa Isr. 0.1	5990	42	—610	—9.2
Africa Isr. 1.0	4415	44	—420	—8.7
Africa op 2	3955	7	—620	—13.6
Ariedan 0.1	1004	1,063	n.c.	—
Ariedan 0.5	357	s.o.1	—19	—5.1
Arled. op A	904	66	+17	+1.9
Ben Yakar 1	1230	159	+32	+2.7
Ben Yakar op	1098	101	+89	+8.8
Baranovitz 1	362	s.o.1	—19	—5.0
Baranovitz 5	210	549	—8	—3.7
Baranovitz op	161	653	—12	—7.2
Dankner 1	329	572	n.c.	—
Darad 0.1	475	180	+25	+5.6
Darad 0.5	202	199	—23	—10.2
Darad op 1	1700	6	+19	+1.1
Darad op 2	347	66	—4	—1.1
HLB 0.1	490	133	—10	—2.0
HLB 0.5 r	242	624	n.c.	—
Property Bldg	10250	117	n.c.	—
Bayside 0.1	5900	43	—119	—2.0
Bayside 0.5	3900	25	n.c.	—
Bayside op B	3120	12	n.c.	—
ILDC r	5150	104	n.c.	—
ILDC no div.	4860	—	n.c.	—
ILDC b	5150	3	—100	—1.9
ILDC op 6	4350	26	—200	—4.4
ICP r	640	2.028	n.c.	—
Ispro r	1442	1,916	—160	—10.0
Isralom	491	198	+14	+2.9
Isras b	970	1,143	n.c.	—
Isras op 1	778	628	—13	—1.6
Cohen Dev.	310	247	+10	+3.3
Cohen Dev. op	231	78	+1	+.4
Lumir 1	562	338	—1	—.2
Lumir 5	182	842	—32	—15.0
Lumir op. 1	156	707	—23	—12.9
M.T.M. 1	3913	b.o.2	+186	+5.0
M.T.M. 5	2396	b.o.2	+114	+5.0
M.T.M. op 1	2118	b.o.1	+108	+5.4
Mehadrin r	13999	34	—701	—4.8
Modul Beton	3600	16	n.c.	—
Mishnael 5	918	160	+18	+.0
Mar-Lez 1	297	356	+25	+9.2
Mar-Lez op	193	189	—5	—2.5
Meshulam 1	850	132	+39	+4.8
Meshulam 5	420	122	n.c.	—
Mesh. op 1	346	180	+12	+3.6
Lifschitz 1	360	1.803	+2	+.6
Lifschitz 5	229	954	—9	—3.8
Lifschitz op	147	1,938	—13	—8.1
Neot Aviv	2095	13	+60	+3
Nichsei Hadar	1304	s.o.1	—68	—5
Solel Bon. p.	6900	128	—540	—7.3
Pri Or	1170	27	—30	—2.5
Pri Or op	1260	15	—140	—10
Caesarea 0.1	1701	437	+155	+10
Caesarea 0.5	328	178	n.c.	—
Rogovin 1	583	589	n.c.	—
Rogovin 5	310	278	+5	+1.6
Rogovin op	177	331	+1	+.6
Rassco p. r	1154	281	—128	—10
Rassco r	1060	324	—12	—1.1
Rassco op	854	147	n.c.	—
Industrials				
Agan Chem.	804	1,742	+18	+2.3
Baruch 1	418	169	—5	—1.2
Baruch 5	311	208	—6	—1.9
Baruch op	162	117	—30	—15.6
Urdan 0.1 r	*1620*	*70*	—40	—2.4
Urdan 0.5 r	1349	66	—150	—10
Atlantic 1	205	407	n.c.	—
Atlantic op 1	129.5	1,342	+65	+5.3
I.P.Building	390	1,996	—43	—9.9
Elbit 3.0 r	11549	b.o.1	+550	+5
Elbit op	10000	5	n.c.	—
Alumit 1	525	761	—25	—4.6
Alumit 5	430	633	b824	—5.3
Alumit op	336	256	—4	—1.2
Alliance	—	—	—	—
Alaska Sport 1	1100	13	—30	—2.7
Alaska Sport 5	600	21	—50	—7.7
Alaska S. op 1	740	8	n.c.	—
Elco 0.1	1901	19	n.c.	—
Elco 0.25 r	858	145	—2	—2
Elco 0.25 b	1500	24	n.c.	—
Elco op B	1653	s.o.1	—77	—4.5
Elco d 1	4647	—	—323	—6.5
Alkol	—	—	—	—
Alkol op 1	—	—	—	—
Electra 0.1 r	4690	67	n.c.	—
Electra 0.5 r	1611	1.135	—50	—3
Electra op 3	2575	81	+115	+4.7
Electra op 4	1070	301	n.c.	—
Elron	34222	30	—318	—.9
Ackerstein 1	560	298	—7	—1.2
Ackerstein 5	351	316	n.c.	—
Argaman p.r.	2240	3	—81	—3.5
Argaman r	2800	11	—40	—1.4
Irith	1724	264	+180	+11.7
Irith op	1630	228	n.c.	—
Ata B 1.0	1467	602	—163	—10
Ata C 0.1	1458	6,044	—162	—10
Tadir 1.0	3852	161	—428	—10
Tadir 5.0	1610	183	n.c.	—
Tadir op 1	2859	44	—11	—.4
Bar-Ton 1	545	207	—15	—2.7
Bar-Ton 5	236	249	+2	+.9
Bar-Ton op	139	315	+10	+7.8
Goldfrost 1.0	1100	s.o.1	—58	—5
Goldfrost 5	341	361	—10	—2.9
Goldfrost op	261	180	—18	—6.5
Gal Ind. 1.0	1385	274	n.c.	—
Gal Ind. 5.0	557	85	—60	—9.7
Gal Ind. op 1	1120	92	+20	+1.8
Galil Tech. 1	—	—	—	—
Galil Tech. op	—	—	—	—
Dubek p. r	3350	25	+100	+3.1
Dubek p. b	3350	42	n.c.	—
Delta Galil 1	575	460	—40	—6.5
Delta Galil 3	372	375	n.c.	—
Delta Gal. op 2	582	511	+27	+4.9
Dafron 1	408	362	+18	+4.6
Dafron 5	226	341	—1	—.4
Dafron op	164	234	+10	+6.5
Dexter Chem.	325	710	+28	+9.4
Dexter op A	215	438	+2	+.9
Fertilizer 0.1	1296	33	—164	—10
Fertilizer 0.5	553	46	n.c.	—
Cables r	1881	30	—30	—1.6
Cables b	1917	5	n.c.	—
Hamashul 1	548	511	—15	—2.7
Hamashul 5	378	353	n.c.	—
Hamashul op	250	581	—10	—3.9
Hatehof 1.0	470	184	n.c.	—
Hatehof 5.0	278	392	—31	—10
Hatehof op 1	719	31	—42	—5.5
Vitalgo 1	396	254	—14	—3.4
Vitalgo 5	228	133	—25	—9.9
Vardinon	—	—	—	—
Vardinon op	230	98	—20	—8
Zikit 1.0	800	125	+38	+5
Zikit 5.0	352	52	n.c.	—
Zikit op A	200	87	—30	—9.1
Pri-Ze 1	859	666	—120	—12.3
Pri-Ze 5	712	s.o.2	—37	—4.9
Pri-Ze op	714	204	n.c.	—
Haifa Chemical	2520	33	n.c.	—
Teva r	2344	145	n.c.	—
Teva b	2361	6	—140	—5.6
Teva db 3	571	104	—56	—8.9
Tempo 1.0	556	s.o.l.	—29	—5.0
Tempo 5.0	450	106	+25	+5.9
Tempo op 1	380	29	—27	—6.6
Tempo op 2	355	½	+4.	+1.1
Tromasbest 1	3700	63	—50	—1.3
Tromasbest 5	1820	61	—30	—1.6
Trom. op 1	3310	18	—190	—5.4
Yaeh	1200	106	—21	—1.7
Yaeh op	884	58	n.c.	—
Yomar 1	1240	26	—52	—4.0
Yomar 5	1010	4	—50	—4.7
Yitzhar 1	320	66	+1	+.3
Yitzhar 5	236	143	+11	+4.9
Yitzhar op 1	181	67	—4	—2.2
ZionCables 1	6840	86	+300	+4.6
ZionCables 5	1260	568	n.c.	—
ZionCables op	843	63	n.c.	—
Clal Electronics	3691	55	n.c.	—
Lodzia 0.1	2188	6	—243	—10.0
Lodzia 0.4	871	358	+21	+2.5
Modul Ind.	398	268	—17	—4.1
Wolfman 1	1120	27	—110	—8.9
Wolfman 5	660	14	—30	4.4
Molett B r	3100	53	+10	+.3
Man 1.0	—	—	—	—
Man 5.0	—	—	—	—
Zika 1	2000	129	n.c.	—
Zika 5	1700	162	n.c.	—
Zika op 1	1374	145	+100	+7.9
Dead Sea r	5500	157	—200	—3.5
Kadamani 1	574	507	+29	+5.3
Kadamani 5	374	1,230.	n.c.	—
Kadam. op A	230	446	—3.	—1.3
AIPM r	3895	b.o.l.	+185	+5.0
Assis	4000	78	—280	—6.5
Petrochemicals	224	1,129	—2.	—.9
Maquette 1	1988	24	—140	—6.6
Maquette 5	575	284	—50	—8.0
Maq. op A	1016	34	—50	—4.7
Nechushtan 0.1	660	117	+11	+1.7
Nechushtan 0.5	280	151	+5	+1.8
Nechushtan op	219	80	—2	—.9
Neca Chem.	390	506	—20	—4.9
Sano 1	1740	65	—10	—.6
Sano 5	1161	9	+11	+1.0
Sunfrost	552	497	—46	—7.7
Spectronix 1	1410	78	—50	—3.4
Spectronix 5	850	68	—51	—5.7
Spect. op 1	720	12	—30	—4.0
Ayit 1	6497	232	n.c.	—
Ayit 5	3463	205	n.c.	—
Ayit op	2662	s.o.l.	—190	—6.7
Elite r	4780	35	—80	—1.7
Arad r	540	688	—5	—.9
Arad op 1	475	286	—27	—5.4
Feuchtwanger 1	903	405	n.c.	—
Feuchtwanger 5	635	250	n.c.	—
Feucht. op 1	565	237	+6	+1.1
Polgat 0.1	9100	15	—350	—3.7
Polgat 0.4	5200	40	—105	—2.0
Polygon r	1225	60	—100	—7.6
Pollak 1	980	s.o.l.	—51	—5.0
Pollak 5	519	159	n.c.	—
Pollak op 1	394	77	—41	—9.4
Pecker Steel	1340	615	n.c.	—
Pecker op A	2490	57	n.c.	—
Cyclone 1	740	330	+23	+3.2
Cyclone 5	390	38	+11	+2.9
Cyclone op	250	90	—10	3.9
King 1	531	288	—59	—10.0
King 5	320	365	—36	—10.1
King op 1	236	188	—25	—9.6
Klil 1.0	2658	248	+242	+10.0
Klil 5.0	1436	102	+50	+3.6
Katz. Adler 1	657	136	—73	—10.0
Katz. Adler 5	507	118	—15	—2.9
Katz op	262	138	n.c.	—
Rim 0.1 r	935	23	n.c.	—
Rim 0.4 r	490	79	—50	—9.3
Schoellerina	3900	30	n.c.	—
Shemen p. r	8000	6.	+148	+1.9
T.A.T. 1.0	1284	24	—67	—5.0
T.A.T. 5.0	651	347	—10	—1.5
T.A.T. op 1	723	171	+10	+1.4
Tagal 1	384	133	—36	—8.6
Tagal 5	265	772	—10	—3.6
Tagal op	176	76	n.c.	—
Taya	709	88	—21	—2.9
Taya op 1	1670	20	n.c.	—
Taya op 2	550	43	—10	—1.8
Taal B r	659	235	—2	—.3
Frutarom r	*644*	262	+30	+4.9
Lachish 5	805	140	+40	+5.2
Lachish 1	591	186	+30	+5.4
Lachish op	650	113	+21	+3.3
Rogosin 1	238	636	+8.	+3.5
Taro Phar.	566	108	—33	—5.5
Investment & Companies				
Unico r	2110	57	—235	—10.0
Unico b	2500	3	+90	+3.7
IDB Dev. r	2040	2,481	+10	+.5
IDB Dev. op 2	1571	16	+31	+2.0
Incoba	755	s.o.1	—40	—5.0
Elgar r	9100	5	n.c.	—
Elgar b	9319	2	n.c.	—
Ellern r	4430	87	+250	+6.0
Ellern b	3905	69	n.c.	—
Amissar p.	6609	68	+570	+9.4
Amissar op	8324	b.o.1	+474	+6.0
Afik 1.0	1770	172	—30	—1.7
Afik 5.0	1270	196	—30	—2.3
Afik op	950	21	n.c.	—
Central Trade	9000	89	+1072	+13.5
Israel Corp. 1	2950	1,644	n.c.	—
Israel Corp. 5	1140	219	+50	+4.6
Inv. Paz r	4875	24	—45	—.9
Inv. Paz b	6409	4	—100	—1.5
Wolfson 0.1	29614	b.o.2	+1410	+5.0
Wolfson 1 r	9210	127	n.c.	—
Wolfson 1 b	—	—	—	—
Ampa r	7380	117	+100	+1.4
Ampa op 1	6800	6	n.c.	—
Disc. Invest. r	2230	442	—240	—9.7
Disc. Invest. b	2500	3	—90	—3.5
Disc. op E	4320	3	n.c.	—
Disc. i.d. 135	5990	1	+50	+.8
Hapoal. Inv. r	8360	26	n.c.	—
Hapoal. Inv. b	8615	1	n.c.	—
Leumi In. r	1715	400	—115	—6.3
Jordan Ex. A r	2530	685	n.c.	—
Jordan Ex. op	87501	1	+2301	+2.7
Jordan E. op 2	45000	2	n.c.	—
Jordan op 4	1950	188	+50	+2.6
Mizrahi Inv. r	1300	32	—70	—5.1
Mizrahi Inv. b	1360	1	—70	—4.9
Mizrahi d. 122	225	126	—25	—10.0
Mizrachi d. 124	271	120	+6	+2.3
Clal Trade	1482	296	+6	+.4
Clal Tr. op B	4950	—	+300	+6.5
Clal Tr. op C	1100	116	n.c.	—
Export r	—	—	—	—
Export b	—	—	—	—
Koor p.	—	—	—	—
Clal Real Estate	848	2,710	n.c.	—
Clal op D	730	1,291	n.c.	—
Clal Israel	5200	432	+150	+3.0
Clal Israel 50	4320	107	n.c.	—
Clal Industry	1190	1,934	+71	+6.3
Clal Ind. op	4140	77	n.c.	—
Clal Ind. op C	887	400	+30	+3.5
Landeco 0.1	1446	b.o.1	+69	+5.0
Landeco 0.5	885	785	+75	+9.3
Sahar Hold. 1.0	1380	163	n.c.	—
Sahar Hold. 5.0	775	161	n.c.	—
Oz Inv. 0.1	4900	99	—101	—2.0
Oz Inv. 0.5	1304	247	n.c.	—
Oz Inv. op 1	4650	27	—100	—2.1
Oz Inv. op 2	1007	68	+20	+2.0
Pama 0.1	1250	499	—75	—5.7
Pama 0.5	667	930	n.c.	—
Pama op 2	885	163	—80	—8.3
Pama op 1	447	567	—38	—7.8
Piryon	1170	1,328	+20	+1.7
Fuel & Exploration				
Delek Explo. 1	350	87	n.c.	—
Delek Explo. 2	245	413	+22	+9.9
Delek op 1	194	73	+1	+.5
Oil E. Paz	1494	83	—46	—3.0
Oil E. op 2	1290	49	n.c.	—
Teroil 1	228	1,172	+21	+10.1
Teroil 5	135	1,477	+5	+3.9
Teroil op 1	118	364	n.c.	—
JOEL	154	1,120	+14	+10.0
JOEL op 1	117	401	—3	—2.5
Fedoil r	767	148	+19	+2.5
N. Amer. 1	400	120	+26	+7.0
N. Amer. 5	214	210	+13	+6.5
N. Amer. op	187	140	—8	—4.1
Naphta r	40000	1	n.c.	—

New Listings

Abbreviations:

s.o.	sellers only	n.c.	no change
b.o.	buyers only	r	registered
d	no dividend	b	bearer
c	no coupon	pref.	preferred
x	no bonus	op.	option
r	no rights	deb.	debenture

MG's Corsa challenge to rivals

MADRID (Reuter). — After a marketing test run, the U.S. car giant General Motors (GM) is making a major new challenge for primacy in the European market with the launching of the Opel Corsa.

Despite the ailing conditions of the industry in Europe, the world's largest motor company has invested almost two billion dollars in Spain to produce the Corsa as a competitor on the small-car end of the market.

Production began on target in August at Zaragoza, northeastern Spain, and sales began in mid-November.

This was only a month before the Opel company in West Germany, a GM subsidiary, introduced short-time working because of continuing weak demand.

The plant will produce 200,000 cars next year. Full production of 270,000 units in 1984 will make Spain Europe's fourth-largest car producer, a company spokesman said. It now stands fifth.

The Zaragoza plant and three components factories took $1.8b of GM's $2b. European expansion

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON, who was Editor until 1955. Editor 1955-1974 TED LURIE. Editor 1974-1975 LEA BEN DOR. EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema, Jerusalem P.O.Box 81 (91000) Telephone 528181. Telex 26121. TEL AVIV 11 Rehov Carlebach, P.O.Box 20126 (61201) Telephone 294222. HAIFA 16 Rehov Nordau, Hadar Hacarmel, P.O.Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine Post Ltd. Printed at The Jerusalem Post in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. Copyright of all material reserved, reproduction permitted only by arrangement.

Tevet 25, 5743 • Rabia-Awwal 25, 1403

The PLO's vocabulary

THE ASSUMPTION in police circles is that the attack on a bus in south Tel Aviv Saturday night, resulting in injuries to twelve persons, was a PLO terrorist action. It is a reasonable assumption, considering that the hand-grenades used were of a Soviet make known to be available to PLO operatives.

Public reaction to the assault has been a mixture of surprise and alarm. True, terrorist ambushes of Israeli soldiers in Lebanon go on — the latest took place south of Beirut the day before — but these merely show that the war in Lebanon is not yet over. Given the oft-repeated assertions that the PLO's terrorist infrastructure in Lebanon has been destroyed, the public was not primed to expect that the terrorist arm would be able to reach, at this time, as far as Tel Aviv, when the city has been spared such bloody outrages since the Savoy hotel attack six years ago.

Yet in fact the Tel Aviv incident was entirely foreseeable, as people in authority are well aware. Already last August, shortly after the PLO's evacuation of West Beirut, Interior and Police Minister Yosef Burg warned police brass against undue complacency following the terrorist organization's military defeat. It was precisely its debacle. Dr. Burg suggested, which could prompt the PLO to stage "terrorist show operations" in densely populated areas.

Since then there have been many terrorist bombs exploding, and many more defused. Early last November, for example, four persons were hurt, one of them seriously, in the heart of Herzliya. The police bared no details about the incidents beyond what the media discovered in any case. The explanation was that the police, observing counter-terror regulations, did not wish to supply free information to the perpetrators. The military censor followed the same tack.

The result presumably was that the terrorists were kept in the dark about the success of their criminal efforts, but so, too, was the Israeli public. The police now claim that Saturday night's attack confirmed prior intelligence about terrorist deployment in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. But the public was not adequately forewarned. Perhaps it is difficult for the authorities to admit openly that the war in Lebanon has not even removed the scourge of terror.

If any party has been acting to alert the Israeli public to the continuing threat it is the PLO itself. All of last week, in harangues celebrating the Fatah's eighteenth anniversary, Yasser Arafat was busy dispelling any notion that his organization would now discard the military for the diplomatic option in quest of "liberation, victory and the establishment of a Palestinian state." Fighting, the PLO (and Fatah) chieftain claimed, was merely "loud politics."

In an address at Damascus University just last Friday, Arafat pledged that "the volcano that erupted in Beirut will continue its tremors until it reaches Jerusalem."

It is easy to dismiss such oratory as typical Arab bombast, designed in this instance to cover up the PLO's current military impotence — and to appease critics from within the organization, as well as the Syrians. True, some PLO sources in Tunis acknowledged last week, the "war of liberation" by a regular PLO army now had to be abandoned — but only in favour of old-style "guerrilla warfare" in the lands occupied by Israel. In the terrorist vocabulary, of course, this means Tel Aviv as well as Nablus.

Plainly the PLO, while toying with the idea of participation in the negotiating process, is not prepared to give up the method of terrorism. Those who consider the organization a suitable partner for peace talks, should at least make it clear that terrorism and diplomacy do not go together. But in the meantime, the people of this country stand suitably warned.

POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. CHARLES MCCREERY wants to know why things fly. Not airplanes — things: bars of toilet soap and car keys. Things which go bump at breakfast as often as in the night.

McCreery is one of a group of five academics at the Institute of Psychophysical Research, set amid the university spires of Oxford, trying to apply science to tales of apparitions, levitation, and psychokinesis — how objects fly and move without human intervention.

Over 90 reports of spontaneous movement have been received since the institute appealed for examples from the public earlier this year. Stories so far include flying soap, self-propelling eggs, airbone ashtrays and three cases of children levitating involuntarily in upstairs rooms and floating down the stairs.

There is no pattern of age and gender, no background of folklore or mysticism about the stories, McCreery said. They have little in common except their banality — they happen in the kitchens and garages of suburbia — and the fact that they cannot be explained.

McCreery recalled a woman who told the institute about weeks of bewilderment over disappearing objects in her home. Her car keys would vanish from a hook in the kitchen and reappear in the ignition of the vehicle. An umbrella would move from the downstairs hall to the upstairs bedroom. Her car, parked on the narrow front drive, would move sideways and eventually began to turn itself round overnight.

"She said that was rather convenient," McCreery said. "She used to have trouble turning it herself in the confined space."

Other stories concerned teapots which filled themselves with rubber bands while brewing, a woman who watched plant pots, light bulbs, a wrist watch and a garden seat move around the house and the back yard for no good reason, a couple whose music box wound itself up in the middle of the night and played tunes. And there was the classic case of the suicidal flower.

A woman on the English south coast stood in her living room discussing her pot plants with the cleaning lady. The cleaner advanced on the assembled greenery with a pruning knife.

As she reached out to trim one of the plants, a neighbouring flower, complete with flowerpot, rose in the air and flew two metres past her, smashing on the floor.

"We do not have a theoretical basis from which to explain these things. We are still clearing the ground and beginning to look at a subject which science has so far neglected," McCreery said.

All stories should be sent to 118 Banbury Road, Oxford, England, he said.

P.S. AMERICA'S Arlington National Cemetery is running short of gravesites and needs tons of dirt to add 31,000 plots by the end of 1983. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers says.

"The cemetery has become strict about who will be buried there because they are running out of space," project manager Andrew Carter said about the cemetery where assassinated president John Kennedy and former world heavyweight boxer Joe Louis are buried.

"But we need to improve the quality of the dirt and land before it can be used."

Carter said the government is seeking bidders who will pay between $75,000 and $100,000 to dump their dirt at the cemetery.

WASHINGTON'S FAILURES

By JAMIL HAMAD

THE PUBLICITY given to President Ronald Reagan's peace initiative has placed the U.S. Administration in a delicate and slippery position. European and Middle Eastern allies are building their hopes on Mr. Reagan's ability — or inability — to achieve a genuine, solid peace.

Though the Reagan plan angered Menachem Begin's government, because it was far less generous to Israel than they apparently expected, this did nothing to lure the Syrians and their Palestinian allies into biting the bait.

The fact that American efforts have failed to remove the Israelis from Lebanon has raised legitimate doubts about the ability of the U.S. to get Israel to move out of the West Bank and Gaza. Doubts are growing every day about whether the U.S. can bring the involved parties to the negotiating table.

What has gone wrong with Reagan's initiative?

The president's plan was proposed at a time when Egypt was trying to rebuild its Arab alliances. The Arab world was given an alternative to the hated Camp David Accords, and a clear signal that the U.S. could shape its Middle East policy without co-ordinating that policy with Egypt alone.

The American administration has underestimated the Syrian position. It has bought the simplistic notion that the Lebanese crisis removed the Soviet Union and their partners from the centre of the Arab-Israel conflict.

The idea that the USSR lost credibility as an effective ally in the Middle East after the fiasco of the Lebanese war is too simple. The Syrian role in the Middle East, especially as a Soviet ally, was supposed to have been undermined by the war. This is not the case. We must still consider the Soviet Union as an active party in the Middle East. Syria has, in fact, recovered its position and restored its influence among the Palestinians, as well as in the Arab world.

The Syrians' outraged rejection of Reagan's plan cannot be isolated from their Soviet links. And Lebanese President Amin Jemayel's latest call for a Soviet role in resolving the Lebanese situation can be seen as a co-ordinated Syrian-Lebanese effort.

The Syrians, their influence and their power, and their strong Soviet support must be taken into account.

In addition, the Americans have overestimated the influence and involvement of Saudi Arabia. No doubt the Saudis have an influence over certain factions in the PLO, but the backbone of the PLO, its "cannon fodder," and its functioning ranks are stationed either in Syria or along the Syrian-Lebanese border.

The Saudis speak in honeyed, moderate language, but they have proved incapable of translating this into moderate action — especially since the fall of the Shah in Iran and the Khomeini takeover there. Saudi eyes are fixed on their borders. Discussion of other Middle Eastern problems is only a means of obscuring their real anxieties and fears of the spreading Islamic Revolution, the Shi'ite revolt that the Ayatollah Khomeini preaches and wishes to export.

The millions and millions of dollars sent to Iraq by Saudi Arabia are neither Arab generosity nor a sweeping gesture of Arab solidarity: they are a desperate measure to keep the fanatical Iranians from Hejaz.

While the Saudis speak moderately about the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problems, and then fail to act accordingly, they are, in fact, bitterly blaming the Americans for failing to help stem the influence of the Islamic Revolution. The Saudis blame the U.S. for what happened in Iran, for the collapse that unleashed the power of the Shi'ites throughout the Arab world. They are, therefore, hesitant to count on the U.S. as an effective, reliable ally. Given this perspective how can Saudi Arabia believe that the U.S. can persuade Israel to negotiate with the Arab powers.

AND WHAT is really happening with Jordan? Washington's communication with the Palestinians through King Hussein and its proposal of a Jordanian-Palestinian "association" lack an inner harmony. Reagan has asked the Palestinians to give up their plea for self-determination and a real national identity after years of suffering and struggle. (It is the same old policy of treating the Palestinians as a manila folder to be passed from one desk to another.)

The national identity of the Palestinian people was forged through pain and rejection. It was born of humiliations, steeled nerves and a will to preserve the Palestinian people as a distinct people. Perhaps this proposed "association" could be achieved — but at what cost?

It is an unconscionable negation of the assurance given to the Palestinians through the years by the sympathetic West, and by our Arab allies. How will the Palestinians, as a people, function within such an "association"?

The Palestinian question must be resolved once and for all, and the function and future of the Palestinians has to be the sole guiding rule in this. No one wants to see a clash between the Palestinians and Jordan. Such a clash would be a blood-bath, and the Palestinians have had enough blood.

King Hussein's role as envisaged by the Reagan plan is an unpalatable mixture of Israeli, American, and Jordanian expectations, the product of the desires of the Israeli Labour Party; of the scheme Hussein proposed in 1972 for a United Arab Kingdom; and of the William Rogers plan. Anyone can see that the political interests of these three schools of thought will collide immediately.

It is true that King Hussein is a friend of the U.S., and he has been labelled a "moderate." But his maneuvering distance is very limited. Half of his kingdom is Palestinian; his northern border adjoins Syria. The Syrians are armed and ready for a fight.

King Hussein has repeated nightmares about the repeatedly revived suggestions that would solve the Palestinian problem at his expense. Ariel Sharon is not the first to declare that Jordan is the homeland of the Palestinian people. This notion has echoed throughout Israel and the U.S., and the king knows this very well. He appears, therefore, to be balancing on a tightrope. He wants to seem to be "exploring every possibility," when in fact his interests are best served by *not* taking any risks that could conceivably endanger his throne.

IN SPITE OF his revisionist style and his dedication to the "cause" of Eretz Israel, Menachem Begin seized on Reagan's proposal as an issue which might serve the cause and style of his troubled coalition.

Reagan's initiative and its timing prevented Begin — so it appears — from turning the Lebanese war into an unqualified national success. Begin's rejection of Reagan's plan can be seen, then, as a personal blow. Begin wanted to preserve a heroic image at home — resistance to American pressure has always served to bring all the embattled Israeli factions together.

Begin simply failed to realize that going into Lebanon and driving out the PLO, while making successful strikes against the Syrians, could not ultimately be turned into a political success.

He believed — and acted as if — the invasion was just like the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor: another strike against the Arabs on their own territory to preserve Israeli security.

But Begin has failed, as other Israeli leaders have failed. Defeating the Arabs militarily does not necessarily do away with the political realities. Political leaders who seek peace and security must be prepared to deal with political realities.

The present situation in the West Bank and Gaza best proves the blindness and impotence of the Israeli military policy. Over one million Palestinians live in the West Bank and Gaza. They are not equipped with Soviet arms. They do not busy themselves digging tunnels or trenches. Nevertheless, they persevere against the Israeli occupation, determined to achieve full political rights and recognition as a nation.

From time to time they take to the streets to demonstrate their anger at the occupation. Can Begin and Sharon send their Phantom jets and Merkava tanks against these Palestinians? Is there a Tyre or Sidon anywhere in the West Bank or Gaza?

Israel might be able to cripple the armies of the Arab regimes with its military strategy, but it cannot silence the Palestinians in the occupied territories. They are the constant reminder to Israel that repeated warfare has never resolved Israel's one overwhelming political problem.

War without political resolution is a very expensive exercise. It is tragic that the Israelis have very skilfully and victoriously pursued war, yet failed to achieve a real solution.

What fraction of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been solved in the tedious negotiations following each war? The only achievement has been the peace that Egypt sought with Israel at Camp David.

That this is a genuine peace is due only to the boldness of Anwar Sadat, the persistence of Jimmy Carter — and to Begin's recognition of the essential need for a real peace with Egypt.

AMERICAN FAILURES in the Middle East are due to woeful misunderstandings of the history of the region, a misreading not of the historical facts themselves, but of the Arab response to events, and the reasoning behind it.

According to Western historical interpretation, whatever you can seize and hold on to becomes yours by right. But the West forgets that the Great Powers have been the takers and the givers in this region.

The Great Powers — not the regional powers — have drawn borders, set up thrones, laid claims and then been astonished at the bloody and chaotic consequences.

And, sadly, the U.S. has failed to understand and to trust the Arabs. Like any emotional factor, this idea is hard to pin down and describe, but it is real nonetheless.

Trust is an intangible and immeasurable element in foreign relations — but it is the blood and sinew of such relations. What Americans cannot understand, they mistrust. This is a product of American isolationism, and a troublesome flaw in the otherwise benevolent American character.

It is clear that Americans would rather deal with the consequences of international crises than with preventing them.

Though Washington is on top of Middle East moves, it has never acted to stop the Israelis or the Arabs from initiating tragic and dreadful mistakes.

Washington holds back until the inevitable tragedy takes place — and then expresses outrage, sends envoys, and issues statements.

IT APPEARS that the friendships between the U.S. and its allies in the Middle East exist mainly on paper. When some "special relationship" is put to the test, when the Americans ask for certain concessions, the friendships prove to be illusory.

How can the U.S. maintain strong alliances with states that turn down any effort to help American interests — such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, or Israel? Are these alliances? Who is at fault for the failure of such relationships?

Part of the problem with U.S. policy, especially its Middle East policy, is the policy-making process itself. Foreign policy originates with one president, one administration. Who can say whether he who makes and implements policy will remain in the White House for four or eight years? Successful foreign policy needs years of follow-through, of tangible results to prove its worth or its faults; and it needs years of commitment on the part of Congress and the State Department. Who can tell how many advisers and secretaries of state any given president will appoint during his tenure? Where can one look for consistency in American Middle East policy?

The moderate powers in the Middle East are Arabs who are wary of mercurial change. They prefer a "wait-and-see" stance to rash decision-making and rash action. Yet the Arab powers are frequently pushed for commitments — commitments which cannot be assured of any reciprocal permanence on the American side.

The question remains: will the U.S. negotiate a peaceful settlement for the Middle East? Taking into consideration the Arab side, the Israeli, and the American side, we cannot discern any common willingness or readiness. The disharmony among the different parties makes it difficult to place hope in any of the proposals put forth, whether from Washington, Fez or Amman.

The clash of interests, the lack of real strategic balance between Israel and the Arabs, and the fact that the major powers treat the Arab-Israeli conflict as of merely regional impact, and not global importance, leave one almost resigned to the permanence of the hostilities. Are we in this region doomed to live with it all our lives, and then to bequeath it to our children as their natural patrimony?

The fear of such an outcome — which is no outcome at all, but the institutionalization of a grim status quo — forces desperate measures. We must beg, if need be, for some resolution — an imposed one, if necessary. And no major power is in a position to negotiate and impose a resolution except the United States.

Yes, there have been American failures in the past. Reluctance to listen, to understand, and to trust has flawed American dealings with the Middle Eastern powers. But in the present situation, the U.S. must move forward. It is the only solution. The stakes are too high.

The risks to all the parties — Arabs, Israelis, and Americans — will be far less harmful than needless continuation of the hostilities. Washington knows that its own crucial Middle Eastern interests are at stake. For its own sake, the U.S. must act.

Hesitancy, reluctance, bowing to the whims and prejudices of allies will only divert the U.S. into a road which leads inevitably to an American-Soviet confrontation in the area. Can the Americans risk allowing the conflict to burn on to that point? If the U.S. acts decisively to bring the recalcitrant parties to the negotiating table, it will hasten an end to the conflict. The U.S. would leave those negotiations stronger, with the beneficial image of an effective, reliable ally on whom both Arabs and Israelis can depend for good will and good faith. Washington cannot afford to let this opportunity go by.

The writer is a Palestinian journalist.

Readers' letters: Page 5

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